

AFRICA



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UNITED NATIONS¹

South West Africa

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON S.W.A.²

IN the absence of any report from the Government of the Union of South Africa, the Committee on South West Africa compiled a report largely based on official South African Government documents and blue books. In considering the status of the territory in international law, the Committee quoted the opinion of the International Court of Justice that South West Africa is still under the Mandate of 1920, and drew attention "to the fact that the official listing of the Territory in the Universal Postal Union was changed in 1954, on the initiative of the Union of South Africa, from a 'Territory under Mandate' to a 'Territory administered by the Union Government'."

The Committee added: "Recalling that the Union Government has on several occasions maintained before organs of the United Nations that the Mandate has lapsed, the Committee also draws the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that Ministers of the Union Government, in statements before the Union Parliament, have in 1953 and 1954 affirmed the status of South West Africa as a 'C' Mandate."

With regard to the status of the territory, the Committee quoted Article 2 of the Mandate from which the relationship of the territory to the South African Government derives, namely that: "The Mandatory shall have full power of administration and legislation over the territory subject to the present Mandate as an integral portion of the Union of South Africa, and may apply the laws of the Union of South Africa to the territory, subject to such local modifications as circumstances may require."

"The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory subject to the present Mandate." The Committee continued that, "realizing that paragraph 1 of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations states, *inter alia*, that it should apply to those territories 'which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world', it 'is of the opinion that the second part of Article 2 of the Mandate would appear to be primarily concerned with the Native inhabitants of the Territory of South West Africa.'"

The following are further extracts from the Committee's Report, which refer particularly to the failure of the South African Government to observe this latter part of Article 2 of the Mandate:

Finance

"For the future financing of the Administration of South West Africa Native Affairs, the Territory is required under the 1954 Act to pay from its Territorial Revenue Fund a sum equal to one-fortieth of its total annual expenditure from that

Fund other than for development purposes. The Committee is aware that this does not include expenditure for health or educational services for Natives and notes that expenditure for 'Native administration' has in the past consisted mainly of salaries to European administration officials and payments in connection with labour recruitment . . .

Lack of Political Advance

"The Committee again observes that the Natives in the area outside the Police Zone are still largely managing their own affairs along traditional lines and remains of the opinion that the number of officials to whom the supervision of the administration of this area is entrusted—three Native Commissioners—is insufficient to foster among these peoples the development of modern and democratic institutions of self-government which alone can prepare them 'for the strenuous conditions of the modern world'."

"The Committee observes that the Non-European peoples of the Territory continue to have neither direct representation in the Legislative Assembly and in the Executive Committee of the Territory, nor are they indirectly represented in either of these two bodies. It is the considered opinion of the Committee that, under the administration of the Mandatory Power, which by now covers a period of more than thirty years, the political evolution of the Non-European population of South West Africa has not been commensurate with the developments emerging in other territories in Africa, and the Committee urges that greater emphasis be given to the rapid political advancement of the Non-European population of the Territory . . .

Land

"The Committee notes that, at the end of 1952, of a total land area of 82,347,841 hectares, the area of European farm lands amounted to 37,578,865 hectares, while the area of Non-European lands amounted only to 21,825,997 hectares. This represents the allocation of approximately 45 per cent of the total land area for Europeans, who numbered 48,558, or less than 12 per cent of the total population, in 1951, and of approximately 26 per cent of the total land area for Non-Europeans, who numbered approximately 366,013, or over 88 per cent of the total population, in 1951."

"The Committee is deeply concerned at the existing disparity in the area of land set aside for the Non-European population as compared with that set aside for Europeans, and at the possibility that the demand for additional land by European farmers may lead to the further reduction of the area reserved for Non-Europeans. The Committee feels bound to conclude that the present land policy of the Administration appears to be developed almost entirely in the interests of the Europeans and that the present and future interests of the Non-European inhabitants are not being sufficiently safeguarded . . .

Need for Land Development

"The Committee appreciates that local government commissions recognize the magnitude of the task of developing the water resources of the Territory and of reclaiming and conserving the land and is greatly concerned at the limited expenditure thus far incurred for such purposes. The Committee further notes that, in the opinion of the Long-Term Agricultural Policy Commission, it was the absence of a sufficient even

¹U.N. document A/2913.

²The report on S.W.A. and debates at the U.N. are reported at some length as they were virtually ignored by the British press.

though elementary knowledge of the vegetational composition of the veld on the part alike of Government and farmer that lay at the root of the evil of overstocking and of general veld deterioration. In view of the seriousness of these problems for the economic development of the Territory, the Committee urges the Union Government, as the Mandatory Power, to explore the possibilities of securing technical and financial assistance from the United Nations and the specialized agencies for the solution of these problems . . .

"The Committee recalls that in its report to the ninth session of the General Assembly it noted with satisfaction the activity of the Administration is building dams and sinking boreholes in the Native Reserves. While noting that the Administration has continued in its efforts to develop water supplies in the Native areas, the Committee observes that the increased government expenditure for all development in Native areas during 1953-1954 as compared with previous years was in fact less than the loss sustained by the Government with respect to sinking boreholes on farms for European settlement during that year."

The Committee endorsed recommendations "of the Long-Term Agricultural Policy Commission that the residents of Native Reserves should be given the same facilities and protection with respect to production and marketing of products as farmers outside the Reserves, that they should produce all the food required for their subsistence consistent with proper soil, vegetation and water conservation, and that, since several of the Reserves offered possibilities greater than required for subsistence farming, the inhabitants should be assisted to develop the land for the purpose of producing a surplus for consumption in the Territory and for export." It added: "(the Committee) cannot ignore the inference, however, that the limited efforts thus far made by the Administration to develop Native areas reflect a policy to relieve the long-standing labour shortage by compelling the Natives to seek employment on mines and European farms."

Mining

With regard to mining, the Committee expressed the opinion that the Administration's mining policy "should not only provide adequate safeguards for the European farming community alone, but should be directed primarily towards the advancement of the economic and social welfare of the peoples of the Territory, above all the Non-European inhabitants . . . The rapid expansion of the mining industry is indicated by the total value of mineral production, which increased progressively from £10,449,390 in 1950 to £21,928,717 in 1953. The overwhelming importance of diamond, lead and zinc is clear; together they contributed 96.5 per cent of the total value of mineral products."

Apartheid and Pass Laws

The Committee, reporting plans for constructing a new Native location in Windhoek, expressed regret that "municipalities had been informed that all future location lay-outs must comply with the Union *apartheid* laws and that buffer zone of 500 yards must exist between the Non-European built-up area and the European built-up area."

The Committee enumerated the many severe restrictions that "continue to be placed on the freedom of movement of the Native and Non-European populations of the Territory. In

particular, it notes that the Administrator may 'define the boundaries of the area of any tribe or of a location and may from time to time alter the same and may divide existing tribes into two or more parts or amalgamate tribes or parts of tribes into one tribe or constitute a new tribe as necessity or good government of the Natives may in his opinion require'; and that he may 'whenever he deems it expedient in the general public interest, order the removal of any tribe or portion thereof or any Native from any place to any other place within the Mandated Territory upon such terms and conditions and arrangements as he may determine'."

African Labour and Wages

With regard to labour regulations the Committee reported: "In 1949, the Legislative Assembly recommended that minimum wages for labourers recruited under contract from outside the Police Zone be increased to the following (plus food and housing): for labourers on mines, works and industries, 1s. per shift for the first year and 1s. 6d. per shift for the second year with the same employer; for 'Class B' farm labourers, £1 per month for experienced labourers, and 18s. to £1 for others for the first year and an additional 2s. 6d. per month for the second year with the same employer; for 'Class C' farm labourers, 17s. to 19s. per month for experienced labourers and 15s. to 17s. per month for others, and an additional 2s. 6d. per month after a year's service with the same employer; for shepherds, 25s. per month for the first year, and 30s. per month thereafter with the same employer; house boys, 20s. per month for the first year and 25s. thereafter with the same employer. Fixed wages were not recommended by the Legislative Assembly for local (Police Zone) Natives."

Health Services and Education

After expressing satisfaction at the continued expansion of medical services in the territory, which includes two additional state-aided hospitals and the expansion of Government hospital facilities, the Committee observed nevertheless "that the actual extension of hospital facilities which has taken place still does not meet the requirements of the Territory as indicated in the recommendations of the South West African Health Commission in 1946, especially in regard to the treatment of tuberculosis among non-Europeans and, moreover, that a number of important construction projects appear to have been planned but not carried out."

The disparity between expenditure on education for European, Coloured and African children continued in 1953-54. Of £896,972 "about £607,400, or approximately 67 per cent of the total expenditure on education, was spent on education and hostels for European pupils and about £159,862 or approximately 17 per cent of the total expenditure on education, was spent on education for Coloured and Native pupils."

In conclusion the Committee reiterated that "after nearly four decades of administration under the Mandates System, the Native inhabitants are still not participating in the political development of the Territory, their participation in the economic development is restricted to that of labourers and the social and educational services for their benefit are far from satisfactory. Racial discrimination is prevalent throughout the Territory . . . It is apparent that the main efforts of the Administration are directed almost exclusively in favour of the European inhabitants of the Territory, often at the expense of the Native population."

DEBATES AND RESOLUTIONS

The General Assembly, by 54 votes to none (Union of South Africa was absent) with four abstentions, accepted and endorsed the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice¹ which recognized the application of the two-thirds majority voting procedure of the General Assembly to decisions on reports and petitions on South West Africa.

The resolution had been sponsored jointly by Mexico, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, and the United States. The four delegations which abstained were: Australia, Belgium, Israel and the United Kingdom.

Introducing the resolution to the Fourth Committee, Mr. Laird Bell (United States) declared that its adoption "would once again make clear the importance the Assembly attached to proceeding with scrupulous legality in dealing with the unprecedented and difficult case of South West Africa." He added: "We hope that, so proceeding, the Assembly will bring closer the day when the Union of South Africa will give its full co-operation to the United Nations in the interests of the people of South West Africa."

Mr. Hassan Saab (Lebanon) suggested, as a means of breaking the deadlock, that the people of South West Africa themselves be consulted as to whether they wanted integration with the Union or U.N. trusteeship. If the South African representative's answer were in the affirmative, he said, he would then propose the establishment of a committee to study the matter and formulate concrete proposals.

Mr. D. K. Borooah (India), reviewing conditions in the territory, said that his delegation "very much regrets that the policy pursued by the Government of South Africa leaves us no option but to come to the unhappy but inevitable conclusion that the administration of South West Africa runs counter to the spirit and principle of the mandate . . ." Criticizing the discriminatory measures applied against the indigenous people of South West Africa, he suggested that this obviously was an importation from the *apartheid* policy applied in South Africa itself. Segregation was applied and labour was regarded as a commodity, he noted. And almost half of the land area was owned by a bare 12 per cent of the total population representing the European community.

Mr. Thanat Khoman (Thailand) took issue with the South African representative's claim that the League of Nations, in its final action, did not transfer to the United Nations the supervisory jurisdiction which it had exercised over the mandated territories. He held that the General Assembly had competence to exercise such jurisdiction and this view had been confirmed by the International Court of Justice. He also disputed South Africa's assertion that the representation of South West Africa in the Union Parliament was not contrary to the spirit of the mandate.

Mr. Aleksandar Bozovic (Yugoslavia), refuting the contention of the Union representative that the United Nations had no competence to discuss matters affecting South West Africa, held that this attitude was in direct contradiction with the stand taken by South Africa in 1946. Recalling that the refusal of South Africa at that time to place the territory under trusteeship was based on the argument that it wished first to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants of the territory, he asked whether South Africa was still prepared today to follow that course.

Mr. Nasir Ahmed Malli (Pakistan) asserted that if South

¹See DIGEST Vol. III, No. 2.

Africa's contention that it no longer had international obligations in respect of the mandate were accepted, then it followed that South Africa's own authority over the territory which was derived from the mandate had also ceased.

Mr. E. Espinosa y Prieto (Mexico) prefaced his statement by declaring that the United Nations could not drop this question until a logical and juridical solution had been reached. Each year, he noted, the U.N. was confronted with this "depressing problem", and he wondered how, in the light of the debates in the Assembly, any mandatory power could continue to enjoy the respect of those under its mandate.

Petitions from S.W.A. and Oxford

The General Assembly also adopted three resolutions on petitions from South West Africa. The first, passed by 44 votes to 2 (Australia, United Kingdom) with 11 abstentions, called on South Africa to take the necessary steps to correct the status of the Rehoboth Community, which was a subject of complaint by the petitioner. The resolution also dealt with the boundaries of the Rehoboth Gebiet. It further recommended that South Africa make every effort toward an early and equitable settlement of certain land claims within the Gebiet by the Rehoboth Community.

The second resolution, dealing with complaints from Hosea Kutako (Hereros), David Roos (Namas) and Erastus Amgabeb (Berg Damaras), about conditions in South West Africa, was adopted by 47 votes to none with 8 abstentions. The resolution would transmit to the petitioners the observations of the Committee on South West Africa on conditions in the territory.

The third resolution, passed by 50 votes to none with 9 abstentions, related to the petition from the Rev. Hamtumbangela, a clergyman in Ovamboland, who raised the question of the future status of the territory as well as the "racially discriminatory" measures applied against the non-Europeans of the territory. The resolution would draw the petitioner's attention to the relevant observations of the Committee on South West Africa. It would further inform him that South West Africa remains a territory under international mandate.

(The *Windhoek Advertiser* reported that the Venerable S. R. Gurney, Archdeacon of Ovamboland and director of St. Mary's Mission, said he strongly disapproved and disassociated himself absolutely with Mr. Hamtumbangela's petition. He expressed surprise that the U.N. had not made inquiry from Mr. Hamtumbangela's superiors to establish his right to speak on behalf of the Ovambos and Hereros and added that the St. Mary's Mission is concerned only with a small portion of the Ukuanyama tribe in Ovamboland and only with their spiritual and physical welfare.)

As a result of a petition from Miss Margery Perham,¹ concerning South Africa's refusal to grant a passport to Berthold Himuine, who had been awarded a scholarship to Oxford University, the Assembly, by 46 votes to 7, with 4 abstentions declared it:

"1. *Is of the opinion* that the withholding of a passport from a qualified student for the purpose of studying abroad is not only a direct interference in the educational and general advancement of an individual but a hindrance to the educational development of the Territory of South West Africa which was entrusted, under the Covenant of the League of Nations, to the administration of the Union of South Africa;

¹See DIGEST Vol. II, No. 7.

"2. *Regrets* that the Union Government did not respond to the appeal addressed to it by the representatives of such an eminent educational institution as Oxford University;

"3. *Invites* the Secretary-General to use his good offices with the Government of the Union of South Africa in order to assist Mr. Himumuine to obtain a passport and all other administrative facilities so that he may avail himself of the scholarship granted to him by Oxford University."

Another resolution, stemming from a petition against enforcement of the Bantu Education Act,¹ drew the attention of the petitioner to the Committee on South West Africa's observations and apprehensions concerning education.

In the Fourth Committee the South African representative had reiterated "that South Africa recognizes no right of petition to the United Nations in respect of South West Africa and regards the procedure established by the South West Africa Committee and the General Assembly for dealing with petitions as illegal."

For the ninth year in succession the General Assembly, by 43 vote to 2 with 9 abstentions, reasserted that "the normal way" of modifying the present international status of the mandated territory of South West Africa would be to place it under U.N. trusteeship. The resolution noted that "all mandated territories which have not achieved independence have been brought under the trusteeship system with the sole exception of the territory of South West Africa."

The Committee on South West Africa was thanked by 45 votes to 1 (United Kingdom) for its work, and was requested: "in the preparation of its next and future reports, to include its recommendations on each aspect of conditions in the Territory for such particular action as it considers the Government of the Union of South Africa should take to ensure the fulfilment of its obligations and responsibilities under the mandate."

ADMISSIBILITY OF ORAL PETITIONS

The question of whether it would be admissible for the Committee on South West Africa to grant oral hearings to petitioners from the mandated territory was considered by the Fourth Committee. The Committee on S.W.A., on receiving a request for an oral hearing from an African student now studying in the United States, who stated that he was an inhabitant of the territory of South West Africa, had pointed out that, while the Permanent Mandates Commission had no provision in its rules for oral representations concerning the mandated territories, the Chairman of that Commission had informally given hearings to a number of persons on matters connected with some of the mandated territories.

During the discussion, Mr. E. Espinosa y Prieto (Mexico) spoke in support of the procedure which had been followed by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. This view was supported by Mr. Laird Bell (United States), Mr. Thanet Khoman (Thailand), and by the representatives of Liberia, Indonesia, the United Kingdom and China mainly on the ground that, in accordance with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, the mandates procedure should be adhered to as far as was possible.

Later the General Assembly resolved by 32 votes to 5 (with 19 abstentions) to seek a clarification from the International Court of Justice on whether the Committee on South West Africa has the right to grant oral hearings to petitioners on

¹Ibid.

matters relating to the mandated territory of South West Africa.

ORAL STATEMENT BY REV. MICHAEL SCOTT

The Fourth Committee decided to give a hearing to the Reverend Michael Scott, representative of the Herero, Nama and Berg Damara peoples. The hearing was approved in a roll-call vote of 29 to 11 with 10 abstentions. (Those against were Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States.)

In the course of his statement made on November 11, Mr. Scott said:

"I had not intended to make any formal request for a hearing, in view of the discussion on whether or not the General Assembly should adhere strictly to the procedures of the Mandate System. However, it seems very important that there should be clarity in the minds of the African people of South West Africa who have asked me to represent them on what rights and privileges they possess; and particularly that they should be clear on the question of whether or not they may claim the right of personal access to that organ of the United Nations which is dealing with their problems. I need hardly remind the members of the Committee that I am only here myself and have now only asked for a hearing because these African people themselves have been physically prevented from coming here by the refusal of the Government to grant them passports. It is now more than nine years since I first communicated with the United Nations at the request of the aged Herero chief, Frederick Maherero, who died a short while ago. Under the Mandate System, the inhabitants of South West Africa enjoyed the right of petition to the League of Nations. At that time, the form of petition was normally in writing and a procedure was laid down accordingly. Since those days, the methods and techniques of communication have increased and improved and it is now possible for representation to be made in many other forms; for example by means of recordings, by film and radio and even television, in some of which the physical presence of petitioners in New York is not essential. Therefore, it seems that a realistic consideration of the question of the right of petition and the procedure whereby this can be exercised should take account of these new techniques in methods of communication on the one hand, and on the other hand, the political limitations and barriers which are designed to prevent communication."

Mr. Scott then expressed gratitude on behalf of the tribes for the patience with which the U.N. had tried to reach a settlement, and appealed for "some assurance for these African people that their right of personal access to the United Nations and the possibility of their being granted a hearing through their own chiefs in person has not been in any way impaired or diminished by what has happened here this year by any decisions taken or by the action of the mandatory power in absenting itself from the Assembly. It would seem to be all the more important that the voices of the African people should be heard because the Administering Authority has departed from the United Nations and does not consider itself answerable to the conscience of the international community."

Referring to the numerous occasions on which Africans in South West Africa have been refused passports by the South African Government Mr. Scott said: "If the African people

were wards of the League of Nations and now of the United Nations, and not nationals of the Union of South Africa, then their present position would seem to be that of stateless persons; and according to the relevant convention, it would be open to any Member State to grant them identification and travel documents to enable them, if they desire, to travel abroad for educational or other purposes."

Letter from Chief Hosea Kutako

He then quoted from letters received from Chief Hosea Kutako. The Chief had said: "No change for the good has been made in South West Africa as far as the indigenous population is concerned but instead the pass laws have been made more oppressive. As from 1 April 1955 non-European visitors from the Native Reserves and the rural areas to the towns are allowed to stay in the towns for fourteen (14) days only."

"In the case of patients who come from outside the towns, proofs must be submitted that they are under medical treatment if they are to stay longer than fourteen (14) days. Although there are no hospitals or medical doctors in the Native Reserves a patient who is resident in the Reserve has to get permission to enter the town from the magistrate of the town in which he is going to receive medical treatment."

"When a non-European gets a travelling pass, the date on which he is going to commence his journey is written in the pass. If he does not leave on the mentioned date he is arrested. When a non-European visitor comes into a magisterial district or town, he must report to the magistrate within twenty-four hours, otherwise he is arrested. Attached please find travelling passes which are available for fourteen days and seven days respectively. On top it is stated that the person must leave within three days as from 16 September 1955. In the second pass the persons must leave within twenty-four hours and cover the four places within seven days."

"In the towns the police are always in the so-called Native locations looking for non-Europeans who have no service contracts. Those who have no service contracts are arrested and the fine is £4 or fourteen days imprisonment. The result is that the people are living in a state of fear and many people pass much time in hiding. Non-European residents in the towns are given fourteen days in which to seek work. If they cannot find work they are forced to leave the towns. It is not considered whether a person has a house or family in the town; he must leave the town if he cannot find employment within fourteen days."

"While the work done by non-Europeans is still restricted to that of labourers their wages are still very low, e.g., £1 10s. or £2 per month. When we complain to the Government about low wages, we are told that the matter rests between the employers and the employees and the Government cannot do anything about it. Low wages have resulted in malnourished children and grown-ups who are forced to wear dirty clothing for days."

"While the European section of the community is well-dressed, prosperous and lives in modern beautiful houses, the non-European section of the community is very poor, and lives in pondokkies constructed from flattened out paraffin tins, discarded oil drums and various other pieces of iron and tin, all rusted by exposure to sun and rain."

"Another factor which we regard as impoverishing is the limitation of stock in the Ovivototo and Aueikas Reserves. No

person may keep more than fifty herd of large stock without the permission of the Administrator and the number of small stock may not exceed 150. Stock auctions with a view to the lessening of stock in the above-mentioned reserves are held almost every month."

"Our hope in South West Africa is that the year 1955 will mark the end of the Administration of South West Africa by the Union of South Africa and the taking over of South West Africa by the United Nations."

"We look forward to the year 1956 as the year in which discriminatory laws, Native Reserves, superior races and Native Affairs Department will be events of the past."

Specialized Agencies Could Help

Mr. Scott enumerated some of the ways in which the United Nations, through its specialized agencies, could be of great practical assistance in solving some of the urgent problems of the people of that Territory. He asked "Is there anything very offensive in the plea that some of the technical resources which have been so generously offered by Members of the great Organization, should be allowed to supply these human needs? Is there anything contrary to a true conception of human dignity in a State entrusted with the care of these people accepting the help so generously offered for the purpose of alleviating distress and improving the material and cultural standards of people whose condition is still as backward, through no fault of their own, as the African people of South West Africa? . . ."

A reminder of what the Africans in S.W.A. have Suffered

"I feel bound to recall something of the history of this subject and these people. It was on account of the treatment which these Herero people and the Nama and Berg Damara people received, at the hands of Germany, at the beginning of the century, despite all the resolutions of the Berlin and Brussels Conferences, that the Mandate System ever came into being. These people were decimated, were reduced from 80,000 to 15,000 men, women and children in a desperate attempt by Germany to enforce in Africa a colonial policy based upon the theory and doctrine of the Herrenvolk enunciated originally by Herr Rohrbach and carried out ultimately by the German Army under Generals Leutwein and Von Trotha."

"It was on account of the treatment of these and other African people in other German territories that after World War I, the principal Allied and Associated Powers enunciated the principle of international accountability and devised the Permanent Mandate Commission as a system of international supervision for these people, to ensure that never again would the civilized world allow these people to suffer again from such inhumanity. It is not necessary to labour this point of past history, were it not for the existence of a real and present danger. It is possible that if the great nations of Europe had realized, at the time these policies were being enacted by Germany, the dangerous consequences of such false racial theories being applied in South West Africa, that Europe itself might subsequently have been saved from such great havoc and destruction twice in our generation."

"There is still a warning to be heeded by the world in the fact that a great and cultured Christian nation became intoxicated with a false ideal of racial supremacy, and set itself as its national ambition to assert its hegemony over Europe and the

world. It was in the turmoil that followed the tragic attempt to realize this ambition that the United Nations was born; and this Organization grew up first to meet the menace of this madness of racial domination and then to reconstruct the world and to reshape it according to the needs and wishes of mankind.

"These considerations are particularly relevant at the present time when the Union of South Africa has seen fit to withdraw from the United Nations and to absent itself from this forum of civilized opinion, when its treatment and policies toward the African people are being discussed. It would not be right for the United Nations to refuse to hear the voices of these African people, to deny them the right of personal access to this Organization, or to devise any procedures that would deny them the hearing that is denied them through any constitutional procedures in their own Territory of the South African Administration. The failure of the Mandatory Power to fulfil the 'Sacred trust of Civilization' reposed in it places upon the United Nations the moral and constitutional obligation to devise the ways and means necessary to enable the people to articulate their wants and fears."

QUESTIONS TO MR. SCOTT

Delegates later questioned Mr. Scott and in the course of his replies he noted that the Committee on South West Africa had suggested in its report that the legal aspects of the representation of the territory in the Union Parliament should be referred to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion. He suggested that, if this course of action were followed, the Court should also be requested to clarify the question whether the status of the territory had been affected by recent legislation adopted by the Union Parliament.

Mr. R. L. D. Jasper (United Kingdom) intervened to state that Mr. Scott seemed to be casting doubt upon the effects of the 1949 South West Africa Affairs Amendment Act and the legislation passed under it. He referred to a resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its third session in which it noted the assurance by the South African representative that the proposed arrangement for closer association did not mean incorporation or absorption of South West Africa into the Union. The matter therefore, was *res judicata*, he said.

Mr. D. K. Borooah (India) said he differed with the views of the U.K. representative that there had been no substantial change in the mandate since then. A large measure of the legislative acts, he said did affect the status of South West Africa. Mr. Aleksandar Bozovic (Yugoslavia) said he too differed with the views of the U.K. representative on that matter.

Replying to other questions, Mr. Scott said the backwardness of the inhabitants of the territory was not due to anything inherent in their nature but was due to the absence of opportunities in education, technical assistance, and in developing their land.

Asked by Mr. Enrique Rodrigues Fabregat (Uruguay) about educational conditions in South West Africa, Mr. Scott said that when he left the territory, there were two Africans who had passed their matriculation examinations. He said they did so as a result of a correspondence course taken at their own expense. One of these, Berthold Himumuine, was offered a scholarship by Oxford University, but was refused a passport by the Union Government to leave the country to take up the scholarship. Mr. Scott suggested that a U.N. Referendum

should be held in South West Africa to determine its relations with the Union.

At the conclusion of the debate Mr. Jasper (U.K.) said that he felt sure that all the members regretted the absence of the Union of South Africa. The United Kingdom, as a member of the Commonwealth, he said, had especially strong feelings about this. Although the Commonwealth of Nations did not always agree on all matters, they invariably sought the path of conciliation and agreement to resolve their differences. He suggested to the Committee that this path of agreement and conciliation was the only basis on which it would be possible to achieve the co-operation of the Union of South Africa.

The only reply to the United Kingdom statement was made by Miss Laili Roesad (Indonesia), who said that she shared the United Kingdom representative's regret and concern at the absence of South Africa. However, she felt that many members had on many occasions "tried very hard to be very conciliatory." This spirit of conciliation, however, she added, "has never been shown especially by the Union of South Africa."

The General Assembly, by 34 votes to 6, with 14 abstentions, decided to transmit to the Committee on South West Africa the statements of the Rev. Michael Scott for its study and consideration as appropriate. (*United Nations Press Releases* GA/T/457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 463, 464, 466, 467, 470, 472, 473, 474, 476, 477, 1321, October 31–December 3, 1955, and U.N. *General Assembly Documents* A/C.4/313, 314, and A/2913/Add.2, October 13–November 10, 1955.)

SOUTH AFRICA WALKS OUT

Having withdrawn its delegation from the United Nations in protest against the discussion in the Ad Hoc Political Committee of South Africa's racial policies, the South African Government expressed its opposition to the hearing given to Mr. Scott by further withdrawing, from New York to Washington.

The South African Liberal Party's Transvaal Division strongly disapproved of the withdrawal and said: "If our Government and people believe that South Africa is solving its problems as a society of many races, they will submit their solutions to world opinion with confidence. If their motive in solving their problems is the wish to deal justly with people of different cultures, they will, with humility, take the counsel of others who meet in a world organization to share knowledge and experience. But if the Government does not have that confidence, it will invoke the technical provision of the Charter which protects member States from interference in domestic matters." (*Rand Daily Mail*, November 15, 1955.)

Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls, former High Commissioner in London under the Smuts Government, and leader of the Federal Party, commented that Government policy and legislation was tending to isolate South Africa from the world and its ideas. "We have deliberately separated ourselves from contact with other peoples—and, to make our severance more pronounced, we have just walked out of the United Nations." So far, in all attacks made on South Africa in the United Nations, the Union had had the benefit of Commonwealth support and influence.

"With the withdrawal of Commonwealth support from South Africa, India would be encouraged to proceed along its course as our accuser. It would have the overwhelming approval of all Asia and the Arab nations and the Soviets—and massed behind them would be the 22 votes of colonial-hating South America,

while our erstwhile Commonwealth friends and the West would abstain from voting."

The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* (November 19, 1955) said: "For all its faults, the United Nations is a great experiment in the cause of peace and there is good reason to hope that even its loudest and most immoderate members will eventually learn to control themselves. In the meantime, South Africa's policy must be one of patience, firmly rejecting interference, but losing no opportunity to bring about a better understanding."

South Africa

THE QUESTION OF RACE CONFLICT

THE Ad Hoc Political Committee of the United Nations approved a 17-power draft resolution expressing concern that the Government of the Union of South Africa "continues to give effect to policies of *apartheid*," calling on the South African Government to observe its Charter obligations, and requesting the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa to keep the matter under review.

The resolution (Doc. A/AC.80/L.1) was approved by a vote of 37 in favour to 7 against (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Netherlands, New Zealand, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom), with 13 abstentions (Argentina, Brazil, China, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Honduras, Nicaragua, Norway, Peru, Turkey, United States, Venezuela). The Dominican Republic and Luxembourg were absent. In the General Assembly, however, the resolution failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority. The voting was 33 to 17 with 9 abstentions.

In the Ad Hoc Political Committee debates, Mr. W. C. du Plessis (South Africa), made a statement. Summing up his Government's position, he said he had been instructed to inform the Committee that the South African Government regarded "in a most serious light the inquiry into the legislation of the Union which resulted from previous resolutions and which will now, no doubt, continue . . ."

Mr. du Plessis then declared, "After very serious consideration, my Government have accordingly decided to recall the South African delegation, and also the permanent representative to the United Nations, from the present session. The President and the Secretary-General will be so informed."

In the course of the Committee's discussion Mr. Chester E. Merrow (United States) said his delegation believed "the prudent course" for the Committee to follow would be to reaffirm belief in the basic wisdom and the universal validity of the human rights provisions of the Charter "as a standard to which all Members should aspire." If human rights problems were considered in that way, the situation in a particular country could be related to developments throughout the world, "and we do not run the risk of deeply offending a fellow Member," he said . . .

Turning to the report of the U.N. Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa, Mr. Merrow said his delegation did not by any means share all the Commission's conclusions. But it did agree with the stress put on "the moral force of international public opinion".

Mr. A. Khalidy (Iraq) deplored the absence of the South

African delegation from the Committee and said his delegation had never condoned "a so-called walk-out in the United Nations." Experience had shown, he said, that a walk-out hurt the interests of the government that embarked upon it and produced an unfavourable impression on the world. The U.N. had never stopped debating a question when a certain delegation walked out.

He reviewed some of the points outlined in the Commission's report. Some "mild comfort" could be taken from the Commission's conclusions that the pace at which *apartheid* was being put into effect had been slowed and that complete territorial separation might be impossible to put into practice. Concrete action by the South African Government had to be awaited, he thought, to judge the extent to which that Government might have convinced itself that *apartheid* was impracticable. It could not be denied that the 8½ million non-whites in South Africa had every reason to think that *apartheid* was "well in force". The chasm between whites and non-whites was growing ever wider, and the possibility could not be excluded that "at any time an extremist faction or policy may erupt in such a manner as to nullify any good work done in the past . . ."

South Africa, Mr. Khalidy went on, could look to the Commonwealth, to see how the British Government had accepted the changing times in its relation with various races. South Africa could look to Latin America which had solved the race relations issue so well. As for the Middle East, it had no problem of race relations. When would the South African Government realize that times had changed? he asked.

Mr. F. H. Corner (New Zealand) said it was difficult to be objective about questions involving race or colour. Feelings were coloured by history. His own country had had a fortunate experience of race relations, which put it "out of sympathy" with policies such as *apartheid* and indeed made them "almost incomprehensible".

The history of a people was a complex thing, and a pattern once woven was not easy to unravel, said the representative of New Zealand. For that reason, his delegation would not "presume", on the basis of New Zealand's own fairly simple history, "to make final judgement on South Africa", with its very different problems. They must all make an effort at "imaginative understanding", if there was to be any chance of South Africa's solving its problems within the community of nations.

His delegation did not regard South Africa as free from the obligation on all members of the United Nations to move toward respect for human rights. Still, if this organization of sovereign states allowed enthusiasm, even for righteous causes, to push it beyond the limits of the Charter or of "fruitful action", nobody's rights would have been advanced, he said. It was high time they reconsidered the path the General Assembly had taken.

The Chairman and Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in South Africa, Mr. Hernan Santa Cruz (Chile) referred to his Commission's report, and said that with regard to its suggestions on the question of interracial conferences and contacts, it had not been the Commission's intention—as apparently the representative of Sweden and others had concluded—that the U.N. should immediately embark upon a programme of such conferences.

The suggestions made in the Commission's third report were merely a reiteration of what had been stated in the

second report—that all the interested parties should seek to establish contacts by round-table conferences and that high ranking members of the U.N. should be present in order to make sure that the principles of the Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights were adhered to. The suggestions regarding technical assistance were also present in both earlier reports, and the objections which had been made that it would be difficult for the U.N. to “offer” such assistance were valid but the Commission had noted the difficulty itself in the body of the report.

Mr. Santa Cruz referred to a conversation he had had with the South African writer, Mr. Alan Paton, when the latter had said that the point which had impressed him (Mr. Paton) most was the suggestion that new forms of technical assistance regarding human rights be offered to the Union Government.

Mr. Mackay (Canada) said his Government had “grave doubts” about the policies and practices adopted to meet the problem of racial prejudice in South Africa. In his view, he said, “any form of discrimination is more likely to exacerbate than to solve the underlying problem.” Canada, he recalled, had not supported the establishment of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa and, from its inception, had doubted the wisdom of the procedure. His Government’s doubts about the efficacy of the Commission had, he thought, been borne out although the Commission had produced “a wealth of material” on conditions in South Africa.

“It is our impression . . . that public opinion had been aroused and has been closely focused on the problems of Africa,” declared Mr. Mackay. This awareness, he went on, was here to stay and would continue to grow “whether or not action is pursued in the world forum of the United Nations.”

Commenting on what other representatives had said that it would be a “loss of prestige” to the U.N. if it relaxed its efforts, Mr. Mackay declared that “risks to the prestige of the U.N. are greatly increased” if the Assembly adopted courses incapable of producing results.

The representative of South Africa reiterated his Government’s opposition to the resolution which he said contravened the provisions of the Charter as contained in Article 2, paragraph 7. He maintained that the matter did not concern the U.N. He was not prepared to enter into the merits or demerits of the case even though some delegations had expressed the wish that he do so. Nothing would have given him greater pleasure than to “enlighten my colleagues on what *apartheid* means”. But as South Africa had taken its stand on the juridical position, he would not be able to do so—“at least not here . . .”

The Ad Hoc Political Committee, he declared, had now lent its authority to a measure which “can do no good but certainly can do incalculable harm”. It would not be the members of the Committee who voted in favour of the resolution who would suffer but “innocent people far away, who are being used as pawns in a manner which we not only regard as unwarranted but even as reckless”.

The majority of the Asian, Arab, South American, and Soviet “blocs” spoke in favour of the continuation of the Commission on the grounds that the worsening situation in South Africa constituted a threat to peace, and that the problem should be kept under review. The white Commonwealth countries, Belgium and the Netherlands, maintained that dis-

cussion of the racial situation in South Africa was illegal. (Extracts from *U.N. Press Releases GA/AH/343, 344, 345, 348, 349, October 27–November 9, 1955.*)

CENTRAL AFRICA The Federation

KARIBA MIGRATION¹

THE only thing that could really bedevil the move of Northern Rhodesian Africans from the area to be flooded by the proposed Kariba dam was political agitation, said Mr. Gervas Clay, Provincial Commissioner for the Southern Province of Northern Rhodesia, at a Press conference in Lusaka. A start has been made in the resettlement of Africans in the Gwembe Valley and it is expected that next year some 7,000 will have been moved. In all between 24,000 and 30,000 Africans will have to be moved from the area to be flooded. Mr. Gervas Clay admitted that some Africans would not work at Kariba because they felt they would be helping to build the wall which would lead to the loss of their homes.

There was a tremendous number of problems associated with the move but the two major ones were the provision of water and suitable land free from tsetse fly. The main problem in the Valley was water but he hoped it would be possible to settle all the Africans who would have to be moved from the Zambezi shore in the Gwembe Valley itself. Care would have to be exercised in the first instance to see the Africans were not settled too permanently as many of them would probably wish to move back to the water line when the lake was full. It was hoped to settle between 1,000 and 2,000 at Kandabwe in the Gwembe Valley, where there was a natural cleft in a ridge which was now being dammed. Eight miles away was a stream on which a weir was being constructed. Another 500 to 1,000 persons would be settled there. (*Federation Newsletter*, November 11, 1955.)

The President of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, took to London a petition to the Queen. Before leaving Lusaka, Mr. Nkumbula, told a *Central African Post* reporter (October 10, 1955) that “three hundred village headmen in the Gwembe Valley are to write to the Queen. They want to find out whether or not she has given her consent to the Kariba hydro-electric scheme. If she has then they will ask her to reconsider her decision. The reason for their action is two-fold. They are not in favour of being evacuated from their traditional holdings to make way for the Kariba Lake, and they are not in agreement with the Gwembe Native Authority’s acceptance of the hydro-electric project . . .”

“They are terribly worried and frustrated about it and some of them have even come all the way to Congress headquarters to tell me about their fears,” he said. “These are not confined to the North Bank Africans alone, and three or four native chiefs from the Southern Rhodesian side have sent representatives to see me.

“They feel they haven’t been properly informed by the Gwembe Native Councillors why they should move. Headmen

¹See DIGEST Vol. III, Vol. 2.

refute the statements made by certain Government officials that Gwembe Africans have been co-operative in making the hydro-electric project a success and in agreeing to move to higher ground above the proposed lake level. Many of them consider the proposed resettlement areas will give them a precarious livelihood because rivers, streams and dongas leading into the lake will cause a lot of flooding in the new villages and agricultural areas. They also say an untold number of elephants, lions and leopards, not to mention hundreds of smaller animals, will be driven up by the flooding from the valley to roam the re-settled areas."

In the same edition of the *Post* Mr. W. F. Stubbs, Secretary for Native Affairs, said the Congress statement was "a complete fabrication". He added: "The Gwembe Valley Native Authority will not let the Congress President or his agents into the district and he is now trying to make out he is a person who represents opinion there. Congress did hold a meeting which was addressed by Mr. Nkumbula, but it was attended by thirty Africans—and none of them was a headman."

A *Congress Circular* (October 18, 1955) commented: "The reply by the Secretary for Native Affairs on the Kariba scheme was most deplorable. The fact is, whether or not the Government likes it, there is a growing unrest among the Gwembe people who are to be moved in order to make the Kariba scheme possible. The Gwembe population, in its entirety, is completely opposed to the plans of the Government for their resettlement. The Government must be told that we have more than 3,000 members of Congress in Gwembe and enrolment is growing in leaps and bounds. The statement by the Secretary for Native Affairs that the President-General only addressed thirty Africans was completely untrue. It seems to us that the Secretary for Native Affairs is badly informed of what is going on in Gwembe and the protectorate generally."

"The cheap and easy way in which the Government is handling the affairs of the Africans in the protectorate is bound to have some serious repercussions."

In Southern Rhodesia, the Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. P. B. Fletcher, and officials of the Native Affairs Department, patrolled the Zambesi Area in order to meet the twenty chiefs of the Batonka and Msankwe tribes, who will have to move from their lands along the Zambesi River. A special correspondent of the *Rhodesia Herald* (September 19, 1955) said the patrol had been of great value and the officials "know that the Natives are philosophically accepting their fate, and they are doing and will do all in their power to help them through the undoubtedly difficult times ahead. Many of the chiefs have indicated their intention to move into tsetse fly areas, and all of them insist on taking their stock with them, preferring to ignore the offer made them by Mr. Fletcher to buy this stock until their new land is settled and the fly driven away to other areas."

"Right along the route—and it covered about 700 miles—there has been, among others, a common plea. The Natives want elephant, buffalo and other big game exterminated so that they can live in relative peace."

In another report on the same day, the *Rhodesia Herald* quoted Mr. Fletcher as saying that some 20,000 Natives on the Rhodesian side would have to be moved from the land which would be flooded . . . It would take a long time to put the families to be moved on an economic footing. The land was full of tsetse fly and the Natives had to be given a choice of

land. There was no question of financial compensation for the land the families would have to leave.

MR. GARFIELD TODD'S WARNING

Considerable comment was aroused in the Federation by a statement made by Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister, Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, in which he described factors that threatened the future of the Federation. He said: "The first is our inability to raise the funds reasonably required to develop our greatest potential—the African population . . ."

"The second disturbing factor in our life in the Federation is the drive being made by Mr. van Eeden to partition our land . . ."

He added that "although there is much for which to give credit, there are a number of most vital matters which are not being tackled with the imagination, efficiency and determination which we must demand of our Federal Government."

"I must point out that liberal forces in this Federation are being divided in their loyalties—not on the grounds of their liberal beliefs but because of a lack of cohesion and efficiency within the Federal Government. This is causing grave apprehension to many and promotes the growth of African and European nationalist theories and racial emotions. The Federal Government has come to a time of crisis."

Mr. Todd's speech was criticized in the Rhodesian press for being vague, and not giving details of where he felt the Federal Government and Federal Party were falling short of the standards which they should attain. The *Rhodesia Herald* (November 7, 1955) commented: "In the absence of details, we believe the underlying significance of the speech to be that it crystallizes a present vague feeling of public dissatisfaction. There are, of course, certain grounds for dissatisfaction—no Government, however successful, fails to provide them. But a factor little recognized in this Federation is that for two years now the public have not had a broad, easily seen target in front of them. Until the referendum and the subsequent general elections were over, such a target was to be seen; but since then politics have been humdrum and the Federal Government's task largely concerned with getting the various parts of a complex machine to work together. Except for the Kariba project—which has yet to recover fully from the initial controversy—there has been little of a positive nature to appeal to the public imagination. Hence the call for greater energy and more evidence of dynamic planning."

LORD MALVERN AND OTHERS APPEAL FOR SETTLERS

Lord Malvern, Prime Minister of the Federation, appealed in Geneva for European migrants to speed the economic and cultural development of his country. He said the Federation's thousands of square miles of comparative emptiness had immense possibilities for future development. "An increased European population is essential to the Federation, not only to develop the untapped resources at our disposal, but to increase the speed with which our greatly preponderant African population can be raised up the ladder of civilization." (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 20, 1955.)

The future prosperity of the Rhodesias and the Union is being seriously threatened by the "chronic" shortage of executives such as managers, secretaries and accountants, according

to Mr. G. R. Pitcher, chairman of the Southern Africa branch of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, and Mr. E. K. Hutchings, the secretary.

POPULATION OF CENTRAL AFRICA

According to the latest calculation the population of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is 7,070,000, of whom 234,000 are European. Figures for the territories are:—Southern Rhodesia: Europeans, 166,000; Africans, 2,220,000; other races, 12,700. Northern Rhodesia: Europeans, 62,000; Africans, 2,060,000; other races, 6,300. Nyasaland: Europeans, 5,600; Africans, 2,530,000; other races, 9,000. (*The Times*, November 21, 1955.)

IMMIGRATION FIGURES

Out of 12,889 immigrants entering the Federation in the eight months ended August 1955, the total from South Africa was 6,626. The British Isles, including Eire, came second with a total of 4,235. (*Central African Statistical Office*, October 25, 1955.)

ASIAN DIPLOMATS STILL SEEK HOUSING

The diplomatic representatives of India and Pakistan in the Federation have still been unable either to rent or to buy houses in Salisbury suitable to their status as representatives of these Governments. As a temporary measure the Federal Government has agreed to rent one or more of its properties to them.

THE FUTURE OF THE FEDERATION

In an article concerned with the future of the Federation, the journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, *The World Today* (December, 1955), considered how far African opposition to the Federation had diminished. The article said: "In Southern Rhodesia it was never genuine, for the Africans there stood to gain by the change. In Northern Rhodesia Africans appear to have accepted federation *de facto*, to judge by their leaders' statements. In the economic and social fields Africans in the north have the same problems and interests as those in the south. Separatism is not strong, and Africans are elated with their rising standard of living and what it brings them. But distrust of the European goes very deep, and a European move towards closer association would probably call forth a repetition of the anti-federation agitation of 1953 . . .

"In Nyasaland, on the other hand, there is a very strong separatist movement as well as a new-found distrust of Europeans. Before federation neither Nyasas (Africans) nor Nyasalanders (Europeans and Asians) considered themselves part of the Rhodesias, though thousands of the former go there annually to work. The structure of society is more akin to that of East than of Central Africa, and by road and rail Nyasaland is separated from the Rhodesian centres by many arid miles of Portuguese territory. Closer unity between settlers in the two Rhodesias was the first theme of the talks which began in 1949 between Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Godfrey Huggins and which eventually led to federation. Nyasaland was added later on the insistence of Britain; the small protectorate was not judged economically viable, and Britain did not relish the prospect of being responsible for another Basutoland or for having to pro-

vide the labour for a foreign territory while receiving few of the benefits in return.

"Nyasas are at present held to the Federation mainly by the pan-African interests of their leader, Mr. Manoah Chirwa, one of their two members in the Federal Parliament. A strong Nyasaland African Congress element in Blantyre opposes any co-operation whatever with federal institutions. Chirwa, a brilliant, bull-voiced orator, gains the votes of all the meetings he addresses, but when his back is turned his critics are listened to.

"There is no doubt of the Nyasas' strong opposition to anything to do with federation, which has become a swearword in the Chinyanja language. They distrust all Rhodesians, even liberals. District councils with authority over roads and bridges, in which Africans have a majority, are suspect because they were introduced after federation. Well-intentioned societies such as Capricorn and the Inter-racial Association of Rhodesia are boycotted for the same reason, while the Anglican church is criticized for setting up a new archepiscopal province of Central Africa."

Among other points considered was African and liberal European criticism that the constitution is not succeeding in its aims of promoting partnership. As an example the writer stated that there have passed through the Federal Parliament "three acts at least which might well be considered discriminatory. First there was an act passing into Federal law the existing Southern Rhodesian railway law, including a clause permitting segregation. Secondly, a measure setting up cadet forces was admittedly intended to apply to European schools and not to African schools. Thirdly, the civil service code allowed for lower pay for Africans than for Europeans, though both have the same qualifications—for example, an African doctor will be paid less than a European doctor with the same qualification because the latter could and the former could not be posted to an area where there were European patients. This example was given by Lord Malvern himself in the debate this year.

"In none of these cases did the African Affairs Board call for the Bill to be reserved. This was because there was nothing in the actual wording of these Bills to show that they would be interpreted to the detriment of Africans rather than of Europeans. Even though the intentions of the Government were admittedly discriminatory, and even if the administration of the Act will prove *post hoc* to be so, the Board has no power to call for the veto. So at least the majority of the Board argued.

"The African Affairs Board was clearly conceived of as a means to prevent laws discriminating against Africans, and in this function, it would seem, it has failed."

In conclusion the survey considered that, broadly speaking, "African desire for political self-expression is likely, under the present Constitution and Government, to be frustrated in the federal sphere, to be less frustrated but not as yet at home in the protectorate legislatures, and to be most at home in the revolutionary methods of riot and strike. In so far as Africans seek constitutional means of redress at all (and they are a law-abiding people) they are perhaps logical at present in preferring the old British colonial system to the federal one. They will no doubt accept federation in the end, but nothing it has yet offered them is likely to make them do so by choice."

Finally, hope for partnership is seen in the sudden growth of inter-racial associations in towns throughout the Federation.

Southern Rhodesia

EUROPEAN OPPOSITION TO AFRICAN AND ASIAN HOUSING SCHEMES¹

CONSIDERABLE controversy has resulted from the Southern Rhodesian Government's proposals to extend the African township of Highfield, Salisbury (established as a township for Africans in 1936) by the building of 3,500 houses, plus a further unspecified number. The *Rhodesia Herald* (September 23, 1955) reported a meeting of the residents of the neighbouring white suburb of Waterfalls at which Mr. G. Ellman-Brown, Minister of Roads, Irrigation and Housing, disclosed that about 1,100 houses had already been built which "specially selected" Natives are being invited to purchase. Mr. Ellman-Brown estimated that about 25,000 Natives would eventually live in the 3,600 houses already approved.

The Waterfalls Town Management Board were considering applying for an interdict to suspend all work on the scheme, and had asked the Government for a 1,000-yard undeveloped buffer zone and for the population of Highfield not to exceed 25,000. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 29, 1955.) Mr. Ellman-Brown said that trees would be planted as a barrier, and a chain link fence would be erected. The settlement was necessary to ensure a stable labour force for industry.

The *African Weekly* (October 5, 1955) commented that the dispute, unless properly handled and solved, could have far-reaching repercussions in all walks of life in the territory. Highfield was established in 1936 and anyone buying property in Waterfalls must have known that sooner or later it would be within a stone's throw of Highfield. It added that the development of a township to house African workers is of such industrial importance that it cannot be sacrificed "to the wish of a few vociferous residents of Waterfalls backed by political agitators". However, to make sure the marginal area would not be a trouble spot for the future and to meet the Waterfalls residents half-way, it suggested the proposals of large marginal stands for well-to-do Africans, or of marginal siting of industry.

A similar dispute is developing in the area of the Hatfield Town Management Board (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 20, 1955) where the Methodist Church plans a Native township which, it is feared, may extend to the borders of the white residential area. The residents ask for an "adequate gap" between European and Native townships and the limitation of Native population to 25,000.

The Salisbury City Council has received a petition from white residents in the aerodrome area stating that a proposed residential area for Asians would affect the value of property there. The petition suggested that another district, where purchasers of property in adjacent European areas would be fully alive to the presence of a nearby Asiatic area before buying, should be considered. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 22, 1955.)

The housing of Natives in European areas—whether for industry, commerce or domestic purposes—should be prohibited by long-term policy, Salisbury's City Treasurer, Mr. H. R. Martin, and the Director of Native Administration, Colonel G. H. Hartley, said in a joint paper presented to the annual conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs at Umtali. Among reasons given for the prohibition of Native housing on stands of industrial and com-

mercial employers were that valuable industrial stands could not be fully developed if Native accommodation were provided, that European supervision in locations would be easier than if the Native populations were dispersed, and that residential and social segregation between Native and Europeans would be maintained. "Ultimate policy should be directed at prohibiting the accommodation of Native employees, other than in areas where adequate facilities can be provided and extended . . ." (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 22, 1955.)

HOUSING PRIORITY FOR URBAN AFRICANS

Steps are being taken by Salisbury's Native Administration Department to encourage the building up of a second generation of urbanized Africans, Colonel G. H. Hartley, Director of Native Administration, disclosed in his annual report. Instructions have been given that in allocating family accommodation, priority should be given to sons of existing tenants who have married girls born and brought up in the townships. "By this means it is hoped to make an increasing contribution to the stabilization of family life," he writes. (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 8, 1955.)

The report says that inquiries into the structure of the city's African population showed that, out of 64,000 working males, the gross percentage of families was only 17.2 per cent . . . "The ill-balanced structure of the city's African population has always been a difficult social problem which the department is powerless to influence . . ." (*Federation Newsletter*, November 18, 1955.)

The Rhodesian Selection Trust Group of Companies announced in Salisbury that it had made a long-term private loan of £200,000 to the Southern Rhodesia Government to help with the Government's urban African housing scheme.

INCREASING LABOUR SHORTAGE

Mr. C. Lander, Chairman of the Rhodesia Native Labour Supply Commission, which recruits in Nyasaland, has drawn attention to an increased labour shortage this year, due to the growing needs of farmers and the urgency of keeping the Kariba Native labour force up to strength. About 600 Natives had to be diverted to Kariba, and though Rhodesian farmers got 477 more labourers than last year, they are still 900 short of requirements, 379 being needed by food farmers and the rest by tobacco farmers. There was also competition from the Union and Nyasaland. (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 15, 1955.)

AFRICAN WAGES

To avoid malnutrition, a Native with two children must earn a minimum of £15 a month, the Interracial Association of Southern Rhodesia stated in a memorandum to the Native Labour Board, which is examining wages and conditions of employment in the furniture industry. (*Sunday Mail*, November 6, 1955.)

At a meeting with the Native Labour Board in Salisbury, the Mashonaland manufacturers offered a minimum wage in the top grade of 37s. a week after three years, starting at 25s. 9d. The Furniture Association of Matabeleland offered 50s. a week starting at 35s. A Mashonaland spokesman said that most Africans in the industry were already being paid above the minimum rates. If the minimum rates were raised to the

¹ See DIGEST Vol. III, No. 1.

Bulawayo level very little incentive to work harder would remain in Mashonaland. Mr. W. T. Smith, Chairman of the Board, questioned the degree of incentive to an employee starting at 25s. 9d., with only 28s. 3d. to hope for after the first year, 32s. after the second and 37s. after the third. "Is this a fair do?" he asked. (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 3, 1955.)

Minimum wages for Africans in Southern Rhodesia's road transport operating industry were raised by 1s. 11d. to 24s. a week, in terms of new Government regulations. An African in the lowest grade of employment will rise from the minimum of 24s. to a minimum of 30s. after three years. One of the highest rates is for motor bus inspectors who must start at a minimum of £3 8s. rising to £3 16s. after two years. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 29, 1955.)

AFRICAN UNION REJECTS "EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK"

The third annual conference of the S. Rhodesia African Artisans Union, felt that time was not ripe for the introduction of an "equal pay for equal work" principle in the building trade. The conference felt that as the European's cost of living was higher than that of the African he should enjoy extra allowances. One delegate stated that if Africans accepted exactly the same wage and allowances as Europeans most of their workmen would lose their jobs. (*African Weekly*, October 5, 1955.)

BUSES HAVE ONLY AFRICAN CREWS

There is not a single European driver or conductor left on the Salisbury bus service operated by United Transport (Africa) Ltd. They are all Africans. In a letter to the Public Works Committee of the Salisbury City Council, the company expressed the view that the shortage of Europeans was because driving a bus was regarded by many as a temporary or stop-gap job, and because of the inability of a large number of Europeans to satisfy the company as to their suitability. "During the time," writes the company, "that only European drivers were employed, numerous complaints were received regarding the inefficient running of the service, but since the employment of African drivers and conductors, absenteeism has fallen off sharply and public comment on the failure of the service has almost ceased." Mr. J. R. Mellor, general manager of the company said that the average wage for a European driver was £16 a week. The top rate for the best African drivers was £3 15s. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 14, 1955.)

MASS PRODUCTION FOR FEDERATION ADVOCATED

The adoption of American mass production methods to speed the raising of the standard of living in the Federation, was recommended by Mr. Garfield Todd, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, on his return to Salisbury. The Native peoples, said Mr. Todd, could easily be trained for a big production in this repetitive type of work; it was the sort of production for which they were ideally suited. Mr. Todd also said that the idea of the cheap power from the Kariba project, coupled with the cheap labour in the Federation at a time when labour was becoming scarce throughout the world, had caught the imagination of far-sighted American financiers. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 19, 1955.)

SOIL CONSERVATION

The Southern African Regional Committee for the Conservation and Utilization of the Soil has been meeting in Swaziland. Mr. C. A. Murray, Director of Conservation in Southern Rhodesia reported that progress in conservation in the European areas was being maintained, though handicapped by lack of funds and staff.

Reporting on the position in Native areas, Mr. R. M. Davies, Director of Native Agriculture, said that 80 per cent of the arable land in cultivation was not fully protected mechanically and at the present pace the work would take forty years. To speed it up it had been decided to implement the Land Husbandry Act, allocate the land to the individual farmer, and expect him to carry out the work himself with technical guidance and mechanical assistance. In this way it was estimated that essential protection could be complete in five years at a cost of about £1 million as against the £4 million over forty years using present methods. (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 15, 1955.)

A tremendous transformation had taken place in the Madziwa Reserve, Mount Darwin District, during the last two years, said Mr. A. B. Jackson, Native Commissioner, at Mazoe. Much of the work had been done by the Natives themselves on the basis of co-operative community efforts and they now realized that this work was having a direct benefit and that it was worth doing. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 24, 1955.)

STANDARD VI HIGH TARGET FOR AFRICAN EDUCATION

Mr. C. S. Davies, Acting Director of Native Education, told a meeting of Salvation Army officers that although the Government had cleared the way for all African village schools to teach to Standard VI, it might take fifty years to raise them to this level. "But," he asked, "have we got fifty years? Time is against us."

Mr. Davies said that 95 per cent of African education took place in the 2,300 village schools, but nearly half of these schools did not reach Standard III, largely because of a shortage of teachers. Six hundred African teachers a year were being turned out qualified to teach to Standard VI. The African population was doubling every thirty years. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 25, 1955.)

T.B. FIGURES

Nearly 1,500 Africans contracted tuberculosis in the first nine months of this year; 156 died from the disease. In the same period twenty-seven Europeans were treated for tuberculosis, three of them dying, according to the "Bulletin of Diseases", issued by the Ministry of Health. (*Rhodesia Herald*, October 27, 1955.)

JUSTICE

For assaulting a Native who lost an eye and had only partial use of his other eye, M. D. K. C. Young, a 38-year-old European painter, was fined £20 in Salisbury Magistrate's Court. Young admitted three previous convictions, one of two years imprisonment for raping a Native woman, one for assault and one for causing a breach of the peace. (*Sunday Mail*, October 30, 1955.)

Northern Rhodesia

DISPUTE OVER AFRICAN HOUSING SCHEME

NEWSPAPER comment and correspondence from members of the public in the Lusaka area have given a good deal of attention to a dispute over the Lilanda middle-class African and Euro-African housing scheme. The *Central African Post* (October 21, 1955) described the scheme.

"This township to be built on a farm owned by Dr. Alexander Scott, M.P. for Lusaka, will be self-contained with a shopping centre, a church and a school.

"Two principal arguments have been put out against the proposed township so far. One is that the township is using freehold land for African occupation. The other is that such a township will undermine the value of surrounding European landholdings, houses and housing estates.

"So great has the number of objectors been, both in groups and singly, that the Board has specifically invited oral evidence and has issued Press advertisements to this effect."

The basis of the objections is the same as that in the dispute outside Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia—the Europeans in the neighbouring area strongly object to having an African township nearby.

AFRICAN ADVANCEMENT ON COPPERBELT

The advancement of Africans under the agreement recently reached between the copper mining companies and the Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers' Union is to be practically implemented almost immediately . . . The twenty-four scheduled jobs transferred from European to the African field have been analysed, the jobs have been assessed and the pay which will go with them has been decided. Within a few weeks at the most the first Africans to move into these European jobs will be taking over. The move will open up new prospects for about 1,200 Africans who will earn as much as £40 a month in salary and extras.

This is only part of what has been described by the copper company general managers as a "great new deal". In addition to the new European jobs and a variety of improved intermediate jobs which will not impinge on the European field, more than 5,000 Africans are to get more pay for the work they are doing at present. This scheme, which came into force at the beginning of the month, means that these 5,000 Africans will draw about a shilling a day each extra. With the advancement of Africans into jobs formerly held by Europeans but since reassessed and revalued, further vacancies will be created for Africans throughout the industry.

How much this advancement means to the 1,200 who are to benefit can be appreciated when a comparison is made between the £40 a month to be paid to some of the more skilled employees in Schedule B (which is the new category for jobs relinquished by Europeans) with the top wages at present paid to Africans. The most an African in Group VIII underground can earn at present is about £23, including all bonuses. There is a special grade underground which earns its holder an absolute maximum of about £28.

Only a few Africans meet the rather stiff qualifications necessary to enable them to take over the new jobs at once. Before any African gets one of the new jobs he will require certain basic qualifications and the most important of these will be an

ability to speak basic English. He will need a knowledge of simple arithmetic, to be able to make out a report card and sign charge sheets. Those who are obviously suitable but deficient in one or more of the required qualifications will be enabled to acquire them through schooling and training. (*Federation Newsletter*, November 18, 1955.)

EUROPEAN MINERS' PAY CLAIM

The Northern Rhodesia European Mineworkers' Union has demanded a 15 per cent increase of the basic pay of artisans. There are about 1,000 artisans in copperbelt mines and they earn 61s. 6d. a shift, while the remainder, numbering about 3,300, earn a maximum basic pay of 52. 6d. All these workers receive a copper bonus, which has been declared at 101 per cent for September, a record figure. The average yearly pay of a miner in Northern Rhodesia is now £2,400 with housing and other benefits. (*The Times*, October 29, 1955.)

AFRICAN WAGES RISING

The Labour Department half-yearly survey of wages and conditions in Northern Rhodesia stated that "Wages are still increasing and the bulk of the Territory's labour force is moving from the lower wage groups to those in higher brackets . . . Approximately 50 per cent of all African labour now receives over £5 a month. In the same period last year only 21 per cent of the total labour force was receiving this figure . . ."

Over nine months last year 75.7 per cent of the workers were in the £1 to £4 10s. category. But at the present time only 49.6 per cent remain in this group. In the £5 to £40 scale the increase has been from 24.3 per cent to 50.4 per cent in the same time . . .

Highest proportion of workers at present are in the £5 to £6 group. These represent about 19.5 per cent of the total labour force. (*Central African Post*, October 12, 1955.)

AFRICAN UNION LEADER BANNED

Mr. Dixon Konkola, president of the Railway African Workers' Union, is asking all African trade unions in the Territory to help him fight a decision by the Immigration Authorities not to allow him to take up residence in Southern Rhodesia.

Mr. Konkola says that he wishes to move to Bulawayo as a result of the decision of the northern and southern Railway African Workers' Union that the headquarters of the union should move to Southern Rhodesia where the head offices of the Railways are.

In his letter of appeal for help for funds to contest this ruling in the Federal High Court—"and if this fails even to the Privy Council"—Mr. Konkola says that in 1952 after the railway strike in Northern Rhodesia, the Southern Rhodesia Government declared him a prohibited immigrant.

He claims the African leaders of both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are prohibited immigrants in Southern Rhodesia and says he intends to have questions asked in the British House of Commons about this. (*Central African Post*, October 28, 1955.)

RHODESIA RAILWAYS LAG BEHIND

In an editorial praising the achievements of the Rhodesian Selection Trust in the field of African advancement, the

Central African Post (September 19, 1955) said: "The Mines are the biggest industry in the Federation. What is the next biggest?"

"Rhodesia Railways. And their advancement lags lamentably behind.

"As is happening in so many other walks of the Federation's life, private enterprise is showing the Government the way in advancement . . .

"We have asked this (question) before, and in the absence of any answer we ask it again now: "What is the reason Africans are considered ill-fitted for jobs as firemen on the railways?"

In a subsequent editorial the *Post* congratulated the Rhodesian Selection Trust for its most recent activity of paying for an expert investigation into the agricultural potential of the Kafue Flats.

PARTNERSHIP . . .

Too Close

Following protests from the Lusaka Chamber of Commerce, an African clerk employed by the Government has been transferred from work which brings him into contact with European firms in Lusaka. (*Central African Post*, October 5, 1955.)

Sportsmen

Mr. Harry Franklin, Member for African Interests, strongly criticized the Northern Rhodesia Olympic and Empire Games Association for their unanimous decision that "the time was not yet ripe for African participation in European-sponsored sport" and that "efforts should be directed towards educating Africans in true sportsmanship". He was supported by Mr. Geoffrey Marsh, executive member of the Lusaka African Amateur Athletic Association, who said:

"I think it pertinent to remind the Olympic and Empire Games Association that at present the Northern Rhodesian Regiment in Malaya is not only fighting a common enemy but taking full part in sport out there. They play and compete against British, Malay, Indian, Chinese and Empire teams regularly. "The Association's inference," said Mr. Marsh, "is that Africans are too immature to carry on the sportsmanship required in a national team. It is a sobering thought that while thousands of Africans from this Territory served beyond our borders since 1939 and have upheld national pride in the hardest test of character, as a race they are not considered fit to compete on a sportsfield against people of other blood."

Meanwhile three African athletes are applying to the N.R. Amateur Athletic Association for recognition of three domestic records—11-ft. pole vault by Chongo (Hodgson's Training Centre), 189 ft. 6½ in. javelin throw by Simapili (H.T.C.), and a 49 ft. shot put by Mendai (H.T.C.). Existing Northern Rhodesia domestic records exist only for the javelin and the shot put and they are 189 ft. 1½ in. and 42 ft. 1 in. respectively. (*Central African Post*, October 31, 1955.)

SENTENCES FOR RIOTERS

Three Africans who were ringleaders in the riots at the Nchanga Mine on October 1st were sentenced to seven years hard labour for unlawfully damaging mine property and two years hard labour for being riotously assembled. They were described as a garden boy and two labourers.

¹See *Digest* Vol. III, No. 4.

Of the thirteen Africans who appeared on charges connected with the riots, one was acquitted. Nine were sentenced to two years hard labour for riotous assembly. They were acquitted on the second charge of unlawfully damaging mine property.

Passing sentence, the Magistrate said he hoped that by giving these "vicious hooligans" the maximum sentences they and others might be deterred from committing similar moronic retrogressive acts in the future.

The Magistrate also ruled that ten indigenous Africans among the accused should be deported to their villages when their sentences expired. (*Central African Post*, October 24, 1955.)

AFRICAN ADVANCEMENT DEPENDS ON EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

Mr. Guthrie Moir, President of the World Assembly of Youth, who has been touring in West, East and Central Africa, stated in Lusaka that "the future of African advancement depends on giving the right educational facilities to young African women." (*Central African Post*, October 12, 1955.)

Nyasaland

NEW GOVERNOR APPOINTED

SIR ROBERT ARMITAGE, K.C.M.G., M.B.E., former Financial Secretary in the Gold Coast and latterly Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Cyprus, has been appointed as Governor of Nyasaland, in succession to Sir Geoffrey Colby, K.C.M.G., whose term of office expires in March, 1956.

NEW VOTERS' ROLL

After rejections, there are 2,203 names on the provisional non-African voters' roll in Nyasaland which has been drawn up for Nyasaland's first free elections next year. Of these 1,866 are Europeans and 337 Asians or Coloured people. The 2½ million Africans are excluded from the voters' roll.

MR. CHIRWA ON NEED FOR SELF-HELP

The *African Weekly* (September 14, 1955) reported that Mr. Manoh Chirwa, Federal M.P., before leaving for Oxford University, addressed teachers in Domasi under the auspices of the Nyasa College Association of which he is President. He said: "The aim of the Association is to establish an educational institution for the African people of Nyasaland. My experience as a political servant of my people, and my study of world history, has convinced me that education is the only key to the upliftment of a people. It does not help the country to look to the Government and the missions to provide for all our educational needs. The people themselves must do something and they must do it soon. The Nyasa College Association has been formed in an attempt to do something on these lines. It aims at creating an educational centre like that which Booker Washington built for the Negro people at Tuskegee. The Negroes demonstrated to the world what people can achieve through self-help and determination."

Mr. Chirwa's journey to London was financed by a grant from the fund held by the Episcopal Church in New York on behalf of the Rev. Michael Scott. His studies at Oxford University are financed by an Oppenheimer grant for Common-

wealth students. He is studying the history of government, British colonial policy, economics, and social anthropology under arrangements made by Miss Margery Perham. He is accompanied by Mrs. Chirwa.

PLEA FOR FEDERAL CONTROL OF EUROPEAN FARMING

Nyasaland farmers are continuing to press for non-African farming in the Protectorate to be transferred to Federal control.

In its memorandum the Farmers' Union says it would be advantageous for non-African agricultural matters to be controlled by men domiciled in the Federation, and not through Colonial Office personnel who, although undoubtedly efficient, have to work to a preconceived and frequently unrealistic policy dictated from London.

Non-African agriculture in Northern Rhodesia is being transferred to Federal control, and since the Federal Government controls all the important policy-forming powers such as export and import control, price restricting and marketing, it is anomalous that Nyasaland should remain outside Federal control, say the farmers. (*Rhodesia Herald*, November 4, 1955.)

FORESTRY SCHOOL FOR AFRICANS

A new school to train African staff for Nyasaland's fast growing Government forestry industry is nearing completion. The school will train African assistant foresters to help develop the protectorate's forestry industry. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 9, 1955.)

THE SUDAN

TROUBLE IN SOUTH

REPORTS reaching London from the Southern Sudan indicated that the revolt in Equatoria had been more serious than at first supposed.¹ The representatives of a number of British newspapers sent their reports from Uganda where many refugees from Southern Sudan were arriving. Meanwhile correspondence in *The Times* concentrated on recommendations from people with various points of view who had been connected with the Sudan. Lord Vansittart wrote: "Punitive expeditions will be sent against the rebellious tribesmen. However much the Prime Minister, Ismail el Azhari, may counsel moderation it is too much to hope that reprisals (involving the innocent as well as the guilty) can be avoided, especially when smothered in secrecy. These disunited tribesmen, armed with spears and bows and arrows, are incapable of putting up any effective opposition to the well-armed, disciplined troops from the north."

"I therefore suggest that the United Nations should send observers to the Southern Sudan as to the Israel-Egyptian frontier. They should endeavour to bring about an armistice and establish friendly relations between the northern and southern Sudanese." (October 25, 1955.)

¹See *DIGEST* Vol. III, No. 3.

Mr. H. E. Nicholson paid tribute to the moderation and restraint with which the Sudanese Government had acted and said that that Government was entitled to all the moral support and encouragement they could be given. (November 10, 1955.)

Mr. Martin Parr, former Governor of Equatoria, felt that comment in the British press had not done justice to the difficulties facing the Sudanese Government, and drew attention to certain points:

"(1) On November 15, 1951, the Secretary of State made a statement in the House of Commons that 'Her Majesty's Government will give the Governor-General their full support for the steps he is taking to bring the Sudanese rapidly to the stage of self-government as a prelude to self-determination.' On May 8, 1952, the Government-General sent to Her Majesty's Government a draft statute for self-government, approved by the Sudan Legislative Assembly, containing certain provisions and safeguards for the future administration of the Southern Sudan. This draft statute had the approval of both the Northern and Southern members of Parliament. If Her Majesty's Government had within six months signified their agreement with the expressed wishes of North and South, the statute would have become law—and the present situation in the South would not, I believe, have arisen."

"In the event Her Majesty's Government did not fulfil their promise but negotiated an agreement with the Egyptian Government (signed in February, 1953) which, in the words of the White Paper (Cmd. 8767), involved radical changes in the carefully prepared draft statute. These changes altered the scheme for the future administration of the South, and removed the safeguards. Neither the Legislative Assembly nor the Southern members of Parliament were consulted about these changes, which appeared to me to have the seeds of real trouble in them; you were good enough to publish a letter from me on the matter on February 17, 1953."

"(2) The elected Sudan Government which took office in March, 1954, had therefore to implement a statute, not of its choosing, which was known to be repugnant to many Southern representatives. I do not see how blame for this recent (to me inevitable) breakdown in the administration of Equatoria can be laid to the charge of the Prime Minister and his Government. It has not resulted from any unjust act of the Government and the most that can be said is that the deep-rooted antipathy of the people of Equatoria to the Arab North was probably, if not certainly, unknown to the Government."

"(3) Those of us who have helped in the past in the administration of the Southern Sudan are certainly grateful to the Prime Minister for his moderation in handling the situation. There may have been things done in the past two months which the Prime Minister regrets; but where in the world in similar circumstances have 'incidents' been wholly avoided? . . ."

He added: "Confidence can at first be restored among people who have, by the use of violence, put themselves in the wrong (and many of them know it) by measures to ensure against famine, pestilence (largely sleeping sickness), and to restore the educational system."

The *New Statesman and Nation* (October 29, 1955) recommended that Britain should invite Egypt "to join in a proposal to the Sudanese Government that an international fact-finding

commission (accompanied by an uncensored press) should have free access to Equatoria."

In the House of Lords the Marquess of Reading, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, remarked that the dispatch of United Nations observers would almost certainly revive and strengthen the movement for some sort of self-rule in the south, thus widening the gap between South and North and running counter to the Anglo-Egyptian agreement that the future of the country should be decided as one integral whole. The British Government were strongly of the opinion that the future interests of the Sudan could only be served if the authority of the Sudan Government was maintained and strengthened.

The present difficulties in the Sudan could only be solved if the Sudan Government themselves earnestly sought a solution by consultation with all parties, and he was glad that there were signs that they realized the necessity for such action.

The correspondent of the *Observer*, Mr. Colin Legum, made the first journey permitted to any foreign observer since the beginning of the revolt. He reported that his outstanding impression was that "the Sudanese Government is restoring law and order with commendable speed and efficiency in the Southern Sudan; but it has so far failed completely to win the confidence of the African inhabitants who almost succeeded last August in expelling the Arabs of the Northern Sudan from Equatoria, the southernmost of the country's three provinces . . .

"Almost the entire Equatoria corps of the Sudan Defence Force, totalling 1,100 men, and the greater part of the African police force, totalling 400, mutinied. Their example was followed by thousands of African tribesmen, armed with spears, bows and arrows. At the end of three days' fighting more than 450 Arab army officers, traders and administrators, and wives and children, had been butchered. The whole of Equatoria—outside of its capital, Juba, precariously held by a handful of Arab soldiers—was in the hands of the mutineers.

"Across the borders in the provinces of the Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal, tribes were waiting to see whether the revolt would succeed before throwing in their support. But the mutineers were bewildered by their success and not sure what to do next.

"When the British Governor-General of the Sudan ordered them to lay down their arms they agreed, apparently hoping that Britain would intervene to help them gain their major political demands either for federation of the South with the North, or failing that the entire separation of the two. Now they complain bitterly that Britain let them down.

"In the end only about half the mutineers laid down their arms. Nearly 200 fled to Uganda, from where their extradition is being sought by the Sudanese Government. The remainder fled into the bush . . .

"In view of this extraordinarily difficult situation, the achievement of the Northern Administrators and troops has been outstanding. The Administration is working again with reasonable efficiency. All services have been resumed, except that the schools have not yet reopened, but even these will begin functioning shortly."

Referring to the courts martial of the first batch of mutineers Mr. Legum said: "It was impressive to see how painstakingly the Sudanese Army has arranged for them to take place according to British military traditions." But, he added: "Only in one respect is there serious cause for concern. Having been

allowed to speak freely to prisoners, including those in the condemned cells, I have no doubt that flogging of prisoners has been widespread in attempts to obtain evidence and confessions.

"This happened particularly in the early weeks when troops rounded up suspects. This has been a noticeable lapse from an otherwise good record of administration of justice.

"When I discussed this aspect with the Prime Minister, Ismail el Azhari, he was surprised and grieved."

The causes of the mutiny would seem to be two factors: the fundamental suspicion and fear the Southerners feel for the Northerners, and the effects of a forged document which was circulated. "Appearing over the name of the Prime Minister, it purported to be a confidential instruction to Northern officials to expel the Southerners, promising dismissal for those who refused and promotion for those who dutifully obeyed this instruction." (November 6, 1955.)

The Governor-General of the Sudan has since confirmed a number of sentences on the mutineers.

The situation described by Mr. Legum was generally confirmed by the findings of the Special Correspondent of *The Times* in a series of dispatches from Southern Sudan. *The Times* (December 10, 1955) commented that these revealed "a still disturbing state of affairs in the Equatoria Province", and added: "There is a natural tendency in the Sudan at the moment to look for a scapegoat and to find one in the British. But the blame is widely spread. The southerners themselves have behaved brutally and sometimes treacherously. The Sudanese Government in the north is certainly to blame for ridding itself so irrationally and precipitately of badly needed British administrators. The Egyptians are to blame for stirring up trouble to serve their own interests. Britain is to blame because of the unevenness, even inconsistency, in her colonial policy. If the Sudan was to be handed over to the Sudanese when it was, then they should have trained more Sudanese administrators, and earlier . . . In concluding the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1953, the British Government were considering not their obligations towards the south but the regulation of strategic and international relations in the Middle East."

The only solution, and "the only possible policy for the British Government after this disaster" the editorial continued, "seems to be to trust the Sudanese Government." After the coming plebiscite to which the British and Egyptian Governments have now agreed, the Sudanese Government "should emerge sovereign and free from Egyptian dominance", and "may be able to devise some special arrangement which will eventually meet the aspirations of the south". The editorial concluded: "Certainly both British and Africans must profit from this lamentable experience by avoiding the same mistakes elsewhere while there is yet time."

OVERTHROWN GOVERNMENT RESTORED

Ismail el Azhari, whose Government was overthrown one week, was re-elected Prime Minister by the Sudan Parliament on November 15. The vote was 49 to 45—reversing the vote when he had been defeated. The Secretary-General of el Azhari's National Unionist Party said that the Prime Minister had been re-elected because four parliamentary under-secretaries who had joined the Opposition the previous week, had "returned to the fold".

WEST AFRICA

The Gold Coast

ASHANTI-BRONG DISPUTE

THE report by the Committee set up in June 1951 to inquire into the dispute between the Asanteman Council, the Chiefs' Organization in Ashanti, and certain of the Brong Chiefs in Ashanti has been published due to Brong pressure. It shows some sympathy for Brong aspirations.

West Africa (November 5, 1955) described the report as evasive, as it states that "the whole of the secession movement has its central pivot round Techiman" and its claim to the villages lost in 1935, but makes no recommendations thereon. It is not clear whether the Committee considers that the Brong Council, "now a *fait accompli*", should be a traditional or an administrative body. The Asanteman Council thinks of it in administrative terms.

Brongland wants action. The minimum acceptable now would probably be recognition of the right of states whose independence is not in question—Dormaa, Techiman and Abease—to secede from the Asanteman Council and to form, with Wiase, a Brong traditional council.

In a further article, *West Africa* (November 12, 1955) added that if the Government fails to make a substantial concession to the Brong demand for some degree of separation from Ashanti, the Brongs will turn against the Government. Then a regional party may be formed in Brongland. The Brong People's Organization, whose main aim is "to work for a recognized Brong nation", would probably become the vehicle of revolt, and it is improving its organization. Its early work, in 1951, was to persuade the various Brong states to join Techiman in the revolt against the Asanteman Council, but it fell into the background when the Brong-Kyempem Federation was formed. Its interests have throughout the struggle been consistent with the Chiefs'. It is possible, but not certain, that such a party might join the opposition forces grouped round the National Liberation Movement.

AMENDMENTS TO STATE COUNCIL ORDINANCES

The Kumasi State Council has decided to protest against a bill proposing amendments to the State Council Ordinances 1952 (Ashanti). "Chiefs said they did not understand how disputes concerning chiefs, their councils and subjects, could be settled directly by a Government with a strong party flavour. The Bill proposing the amendments would give lesser chiefs in Ashanti the right to appeal to the Governor in all cases involving constitutional disputes.

"The objects of the amendment are to enable all chiefs, other than paramount chiefs of a state within the Asanteman, to have constitutional disputes determined by a state council; to remove overlapping of jurisdiction of state councils leaving Asanteman Council only with jurisdiction in disputes concerning a paramount chief of a state within the Asanteman; to remove right of appeal to the Asanteman Council; to give right of appeal to the Governor in all cases involving constitutional matters heard by Asanteman Council or a state council; to provide for the appointment of committees of inquiry in cases where determination by appropriate council is inexpedient; to

vest powers, including power of recognizing or refusing to recognize a paramount chief, in the Governor acting on advice of the Cabinet.

"The National Liberation Movement cabled the Colonial Secretary, through the Governor, demanding the Bill's withdrawal to avoid 'civil strife and stultification of Sir Frederick Bourne's Mission'." (*West Africa*, October 29, 1955).¹

Commenting, *West Africa* (November 19, 1955) said that the bill "has been criticized on the ground that at this time the Gold Coast Government should do nothing to provoke the Asanteman Council which might decide not to co-operate with the constitutional adviser as a result. Even people who see need for a measure of this kind say that it should have been deferred or that the subject is so complex that detailed inquiry is necessary before enacting legislation.

"Certainly the Ordinances have incensed the Opposition: but the Government have wisely agreed that until the proposed neutral Commission for dealing with appeals from State Councils and similar matters is appointed, the Governor will exercise power in these matters at his discretion—which means that the Cabinet will have no say . . .

"Even the Government's concession, we fear, will not improve matters in Kumasi. But Mr. Nkrumah has his own followers to think of too as well as the discontented Brongs in Ashanti. C.P.P. leaders say that the Asanteman Council cannot be allowed a veto on legislation and that with these Ordinances they were meeting not only a popular demand but the wishes of many chiefs."

OPPOSITION TO SIR FREDERICK BOURNE'S MISSION²

The nature of Sir Frederick Bourne's mission as Constitutional Adviser has caused much controversy. *The Pioneer* (October 19, 1955) remarked that nothing had been said about the procedure to be adopted by Sir Frederick as specifically requested by the N.L.M. If he were to formulate his own proposals for submission to a round-table conference instead of the conference itself discussing and arriving at its own proposals freely under the guidance and advice of Sir Frederick, then he should as well pack and go now. If he had come to impose his own proposals on the country then he had no title to the co-operation of the N.L.M. and its allies. *The Pioneer* added (October 20, 1955) that if the federal constitution that the N.L.M. was demanding could properly be classified under regional devolution, it was only one aspect of the controversy. Equally important were the second chamber and the position of the Chiefs. It was the Government's insistence on mere regional devolution that had caused the Opposition to walk out of the Assembly. What the N.L.M. and its allies wanted was a constitution drawn up by all sections of the people of the country. To talk of proposals formulated by Sir Frederick Bourne, a foreigner, was to over-simplify the issue.

The Daily Echo (October 21, 1955) commented: "In the midst of the confusion caused by the C.P.P. Government with the assistance of the Secretary of State and Sir Frederick Bourne, the underlying causes of the present constitutional crisis have been cleverly separated from the crisis itself and pushed underground . . . The demand for a federal system of government" is caused by "a determination to eradicate the gigantic racket by which Government party members have been robbing

¹See DIGEST Vol. III, No. 2.

²See DIGEST Vol. III, No. 4.

public funds to maintain the C.P.P., and also the fear of a tendency to dictatorship and a threat to chieftaincy. It is therefore foolish to hope to resolve the present constitutional difficulties without examining the causes. It is for this reason that the N.L.M. and its allies should tell the Secretary of State bluntly that if the serious allegations of bribery and corruption on the Cocoa Marketing Board and the Cocoa Purchasing Company are not publicly examined by an impartial Commissioner they would not consent to any discussion of the constitutional crisis . . . The two issues are connected, and if the Government . . . refuses an investigation by an impartial commissioner, the N.L.M. and its allies would also be justified if they refuse to co-operate with a Constitutional Adviser in examining the constitutional crisis."

The Opposition Parties later announced that they would no longer assist Sir Frederick Bourne in his investigations unless the Government withdrew its ordinance curtailing the powers of the Asantehene. The Asanteman Council also decided not to meet him.

DR. BUSIA'S PRESS CONFERENCE

Dr. S. K. Busia, who represents an Ashanti constituency, said at a Press conference in London on November 4 "that the Gold Coast opposition would acquiesce in full self-rule for his country only on two conditions: there must be new general elections, and the Cocoa Marketing Board and Cocoa Purchasing Company must be investigated." The Opposition claimed "to have documentary proof of irregularities" in those bodies.

Dr. Busia said there was now a united opposition to Dr. Nkrumah's C.P.P. government, consisting of the N.L.M. in which the old parties in the South had merged and with which the Northern People's Party had a common working programme. They could supply an alternative government.

Asked whether the N.L.M. is simply an instrument of the chiefs, he said that British people might make the mistake of supposing that chieftdom in his country meant autocracy. On the contrary, it represented the traditional local administration. Local administration, as being attempted at present in the Gold Coast, had "completely failed".

Dr. Busia denied that the Opposition was undermining the principle of African responsibility by appealing from the Accra Government to the British Government. He said that if self-government had formerly been the united aim of all, a stage had come where good government was even more important than self-government. (*The Manchester Guardian*, November 5, 1955.)

INQUIRY INTO COCOA PURCHASING COMPANY

The Gold Coast Government has announced that it will hold an independent investigation into the affairs of the Cocoa Purchasing Company. The Company was established in 1952 with capital provided by the Cocoa Marketing Board, a public corporation. It has an authorized capital of £2 million, and acts as an agent for the Board in buying cocoa from farmers and in issuing loans to them. The Secretary of State for the Colonies has welcomed the decision to hold the inquiry as an act of responsible statesmanship. (*The Times*, November 22, 1955.) *West Africa* commented (November 26, 1955) that the inquiry "is of great significance since in Ashanti the Opposition allege that it is the company which through its money and transport makes C.P.P. organization possible and which, through its

loans, bribes voters to support the party . . . Since the Government has taken this wise decision it should go the whole way to answer the Opposition's case. Indeed it is not too much to say that the company is at the centre of that case and a proper inquiry might do more to clear the Gold Coast air than any other single step."

TRAINING OF DIPLOMATS

Arrangements have been completed to train Gold Coast officers to form the nucleus of a Gold Coast External Affairs Service. Embassies and High Commissioners' Offices in the capitals of Europe will help to train Africans from the Gold Coast who will be in the diplomatic service of that country when it becomes fully self-governing. Eight officers have recently attended a course arranged by the Foreign Office and Commonwealth Relations Office on the conduct of external relations. Additional officers are expected to begin training next year. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, November 9, 1955.)

DR. NKRUMAH AND INVESTORS

When he opened the new installation of Mobiloil Gold Coast Ltd., the Prime Minister Dr. Kwame Nkrumah said that "no investor, no matter what his degree of participation in industry or commerce, has a right to exercise any influence within the political sphere contrary to Gold Coast national interest." He said that the Gold Coast welcomed foreign investment but the accent must be on co-operation. "The Gold Coast will always welcome a helping hand, but never again the master's cane." Dr. Nkrumah congratulated the company on a magnificent achievement. "Without these vital products in this country, our life would be at a standstill and our economy would be jeopardized." (*West Africa*, October 22, 1955.)

Togoland

U.N. MISSION'S REPORT¹

THE U.N. Trusteeship Council decided on November 23 to submit to the General Assembly as a "useful basis" for action, a special report on Togoland under British Administration prepared by a recent U.N. Visiting Mission to the Territory. The Mission also toured and reported on Togoland under French Administration.

The Assembly is seeking to resolve the future political status of the Territory in view of notice from the United Kingdom that present Trusteeship arrangements cannot continue once the neighbouring Gold Coast becomes independent in the very near future. In their report, the Mission recommended a plebiscite as the best means of ascertaining the population's wishes as to their future. (*U.N. News*, November 28, 1955.)

The Mission's report said that British Togoland had naturally become closely aligned with the Gold Coast after forty years of joint administration. "Two main views were put before the mission. The first favoured integrating Togoland under British administration with the Gold Coast when the latter became independent. The second favoured establishing the identity of Togoland under British administration as separate from the Gold Coast, as a preliminary to allowing the people to choose whether to federate with the Gold Coast, or to unite

¹See DIGEST Vol. III, No. 5.

with an independent Togoland under French administration . . . All the major parties agreed that a plebiscite should be held to decide among these courses. The British administration in Togoland and the Gold Coast Government both favoured the integration with the Gold Coast. If the people decided to separate from the Gold Coast, the question of their future would be bound up with that of French Togoland." (*Manchester Guardian*, October 31, 1955.)

Under the Mission's plan British Togoland would be divided into three areas, a northern section, a middle section (Buem-Krachi), and a southern section (the Ewe districts of Kpandu and Ho). Each will vote separately, the middle section voting in two constituencies. The plan is based on estimates of the different state of feelings in each section. For instance, it is assumed that the north will vote for integration with the Gold Coast; the south is divided between integration and an independent Togoland of some kind, while the wishes of the centre are obscure.

"An unknown factor all the time is the future of French Togoland. The French administration told the visiting mission that it contemplated holding in due course some form of consultation with the people of Togoland under French administration to ascertain their wishes for the future. The visiting mission believe that after the political future of French Togoland has been decided in this matter the rump of British Togoland should then be called upon to decide its future by a plebiscite, in which the question should be whether it would join the Gold Coast or Togoland under French administration, which by then would have decided whether to be independent or a part of the French Union. The visiting mission made it clear that in their view the continuation of the rump as a separate administration unit for more than a few years would be neither beneficial to its people nor practicable for the administering authority." (*The Times*, November 16, 1955.)

An article in *Le Monde* (November 1, 1955) drew attention to the probable unwillingness of the Ewes in the South to be separated from their "brethren under French administration". It added: "The mission is careful not to comment on the advantages or disadvantages of an attachment to the Gold Coast . . . It does not even mention the fact that the possession of British Togoland is essential for the realization of the great dam across the Volta River, a plan dear to the heart of Dr. Nkrumah." On the other hand, the representatives of four powers which can hardly be suspected of "colonialist" sympathies, two of whom belong to Commonwealth countries, pronounce that "the progress made in the economic, social and educational spheres is much more noticeable in French Togoland than in British Togoland."

"The Mission was able to judge of the small credit enjoyed in the northern part of the territory by parties which were hostile to France, parties which are only influential in the south."

"We cannot complain of the report . . . which, in its objectivity, is fairly favourable to our country."

West Africa commented (November 5, 1955): "The questions the Mission recommend for the plebiscite are: '(1) Do you want the integration of Togoland under British administration with an independent Gold Coast? and (2) Do you want the separation of Togoland under British administration from the Gold Coast and its continuance under trusteeship, pending the ultimate determination of its political future'."

"The Mission assume that the British Government, if in-

vited to administer such an area when the Gold Coast becomes self-governing, would do so. Yet the British Government has already said that it is not prepared to administer British Togoland as a whole after Gold Coast self-government; how much less enthusiastic it would be to administer an enclave surrounded by Gold Coast and French Togoland territory, and ludicrously small for modern administration."

Nigeria

ROYAL VISIT

THE Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh will visit Nigeria from January 28-February 16, 1956. In the time at her disposal, it is stated, it would not be possible for the Queen to travel as far afield from the various capitals as she would have wished to see the life of the peoples, but the principal aim of the programme was that she should "see and be seen by as many as possible of all classes of her loyal subjects in Nigeria".

West Africa (October 29, 1955) commented: "Such is now the nature of the Commonwealth that the Queen's visit next January is welcomed in Nigeria as an indication not of the country's dependent status but as a recognition of its importance, of coming self-government, and of its close and friendly relations with the United Kingdom . . ."

The Eastern Regional Minister of Health, Dr. M. I. Okpara, said that "as a prelude to next year's constitutional conference, the Royal visit would reassure those nationalist parties which had chosen the path of dominion status for Nigeria more than any assurance that could ever be given." (*News from Nigeria*, October 29, 1955.)

Mr. Kola Balogun, National Secretary of the N.C.N.C. and Federal Minister of Research and Information, said that the Queen's visit would give the country world-wide publicity and would "put us on the map". (*West Africa*, November 5, 1955.)

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

There is wide discussion about what may be decided at the constitutional conference to be held next year. For the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons it has been stated that a demand will be made for Dominion Status for the whole of Nigeria, and that that body will seek to win the coming election in the Western Region, where the Action Group is at present in power, so that it may be able, when the time comes, to speak for the whole of the South of Nigeria.

On the other hand the Action Group has decided that it will demand self-government for the Western Region and that it will do all that it can to secure the agreement of the Northern Region to self-government for the Federation. Further, the Action Group, through its leader Mr. O. Awolowo, has announced that it will press for the creation of five States or Regions in Nigeria, namely Western State, Mid-Western or Benin Delta State, Eastern State, Calabar-Ogoja-Rivers State and Northern State. He said: "All the sane and sensible politicians in Nigeria are now agreed that Nigeria should have a federal constitution." He listed a number of reasons against vesting the Centre with residual powers and added: "We on our part are resolved to have one Nigeria or no Nigeria at all. If for any reason the North is annoyed out of this Federation the Western Region will have nothing to do with Dr. Azikiwe's

Southern Dominion." He also called for an Upper House or Senate at the centre, all the States having equal representation in it, and the Senate to have concurrent legislative powers with the House of Representatives, except in money matters.

PLEA FOR CHANGES IN ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Dr. N. Azikiwe, speaking at a meeting in London on October 14, urged that the British Government should "use its good offices" to ensure that next year's constitutional conference agrees on a uniform electoral system for federal elections in Nigeria, based on universal adult suffrage. Without a change in the electoral system a full party system, which was essential for democratic government, could not grow, and it was Britain's policy not to grant self-government until this state had been achieved. Dr. Azikiwe said that Federation was the best form of government for Nigeria and traced the steps by which the present form of government, which was not truly federal, had been attained. He continued, "We must now educate our people to realize that Nigeria is no longer a mere geographical expression but a nation in the emergence." (*West Africa*, October 22, 1955.)

U.M.B.C. SPLIT

A split in the United Middle Belt Congress, caused by an alliance with the Northern People's Congress, is growing wider. "Leading the two rival camps are Pastor David Lot, President-General, Patrick Dokotri, Assistant General Secretary, and Malam Maude, Propaganda Secretary, who support the alliance, and, on the other side, the anti-alliance men, Malam Ado Ibrahim, General Secretary, and Moses Rwang, a Vice-President." (*Nigerian Citizen*, November 10, 1955.)

LABOUR AND INDUSTRY

Dr. Azikiwe and the F.B.I.

Dr. Azikiwe met representatives of the Federation of British Industries in London and regretted the slowness of British industrialists in coming forward with equipment and technical knowledge to help the industrialization of Nigeria, which was being forced to make arrangements with other countries, notably Germany. Nigeria was in a hurry, and Dr. Azikiwe was sorry that British industrialists were holding back and were not reaping the benefit of the opportunity for which British enterprise over the past eighty years had laid the foundation. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, November 16, 1955.)

Labour Dispute

A statement issued by the Federal Ministry of Labour and Welfare on October 15 said that although both trade unions and the employers' association had modified their claims no agreement had been reached in the Plateau Minesfield dispute. "No acceptable compromise could be reached between the unions' view that there should be a graduated increase of 25 per cent to 30 per cent over the wages now payable as a result of the arbitration earlier this year on the payment of annual increments, and the employers' view that . . . there is no justification for departing so soon from the arbitrator's award that increments should be paid every two years."

The strike began on October 16. After a Ministerial appeal for a simultaneous return to work and opening of wage negotiations, the strikers returned to work after being out for

two and a half weeks. (*News from Nigeria*, October 19, 1955.)

Dr. Kenneth Dike, of the University College, Ibadan, was appointed to lead negotiations and the two sides agreed on wages and annual increments, but the negotiations broke down over the date from which the new rates would be effective although "the gap between the two parties had been narrowed." (*West Africa*, November 19, 1955.)

Federal Minister of Labour in Kaduna

Chief F. S. Okotie-Eboh, Federal Minister of Labour and Welfare, began a visit to Kaduna on October 5, "to obtain a first-hand knowledge of working conditions in the Northern Region". Before leaving he said, "My general impression is that the Northern Regional Government has done much for the North. I have noticed great improvements since my last visit to the North, nine years ago." (*News from Nigeria*, October 12, 1955.)

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

National Economic Council

Before the first meeting of the National Economic Council took place, *West African Pilot* commented (October 22; 1955): "In view of the fact that the council was formed with the agreement of all governments in Nigeria, it will not be too much to expect that delegates . . . will forget their party interest and think more of the economic prosperity of the Federation . . . All delegates . . . owe it as a duty to the nation to aim at evolving a sound fiscal policy which will promote the welfare of the people in a Socialist Commonwealth of Nigeria and the Cameroons."

The Governor-General, Sir James Robertson, presiding at the meeting, quoted the report of the Mission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development which said how useful it would be "for Nigeria to have a forum in which the Federation and the Regions might meet to discuss the many economic problems common to each, notwithstanding their separate constitutional functions, and such of their development policies as may have consequences reaching beyond their respective constitutional spheres." The Mission had not intended that there should be any encroachment on Federal or Regional authority. "The Council would be primarily consultative and . . . designed to give the maximum of encouragement to a national policy."

The Governor-General continued: "It is the responsibility of the various Governments of the country to provide basic facilities such as communications in their widest sense, electricity and social services and, above all, to create an atmosphere favourable both to the investment of capital for Government works and private enterprise, and to the recruitment of the necessary technical and managerial skills which are lacking at the present time . . . Without co-operation there are grave risks of wasteful duplication of effort . . . It is my earnest hope that the National Economic Council will help to provide the necessary co-operation and teamwork . . . I firmly believe . . . that if a spirit of friendliness and co-operation exists, even a failure to agree is no disaster; appreciation of another's point of view is immensely valuable."

The spokesman for the Federation, the Minister of Land, Mines and Power, pointed out that it was the first occasion since the inception of the Federal Constitution that representatives of all Governments in the Federation had met together to

discuss questions of common interest. He emphasized the need of a healthy economy and an ever-increasing volume of national income if the pace of development schemes was to be sustained. (*News from Nigeria*, October 29, 1955.)

E.R.D.C. and Co-operatives

Mr. E. O. Eyo, Chairman of the Eastern Region Development Corporation, has said that the Corporation is to embark on a partnership scheme with producer co-operative societies in establishing oil mills in the region. Any society intending to take advantage of the scheme would pay an initial sum of £2,000 to the Corporation which would then provide the money for the building and the necessary equipment, and a loan which would be refundable at the rate of 3 per cent interest in ten years in equal monthly instalments, starting from the second month of production. (*News from Nigeria*, November 16, 1955.)

Growth of Cotton Production

The rapid growth of Nigerian cotton production was reflected in the report of the Nigerian Cotton Marketing Board. It was the last report of the Board, which was liquidated after the 1954 season in conformity with the recommendations of the Constitutional Conference.

The annual value of Nigerian cotton exports increased from £2,975,000 in 1950 to £7,351,000 in 1954. A surplus of £1,234,622 was added to the Board's funds at the end of the period, bringing the total of the General Reserves, excluding allocations to specific projects, to £7.2 millions. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, November 23, 1955.)

School of Agriculture Opened

The School of Agriculture, Eastern Region, was opened by the Minister of Agriculture, who said that it would train agricultural assistants and field overseers for the Region. "Side by side with this school . . . is the Practical Farm School at Achi . . . The basic principle behind both is the improvement of peasant agriculture." (*News from Nigeria*, November 5, 1955.)

Rubber Development

Mr. Tan Siew Sin, a Member of the Legislative Council of Malaya, has visited Nigeria to study prospects for rubber development. (*West Africa*, November 19, 1955.)

Tea Planting

Three representatives of a British company of tea planters have arrived in the Southern Cameroons to investigate the possibilities for tea plantations. At present there is only one tea plantation in the region, run by the Cameroons Development Corporation at Toole.

American Industries consider manufacturing in Eastern Region

Senior staff members of firms engaged in the manufacture of automobiles, tyres, footwear, steel and matches, will visit Eastern Nigeria early in 1957 to assess the possibilities of starting factories in the Region.

River Transport

The Minister of Transport, Mr. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, has returned from his tour of the United States with the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry, Mr. N. N. Varvill. They have been studying river transport systems, and "had obtained a great deal of information". The Minister said, after his return, that he had plans for the development of the Niger and Benue Rivers which he would submit to the Council of

Ministers in Lagos. An Inland Waterways Advisory Board is to be set up in the Eastern Region. (*News from Nigeria*, October 12–November 23, 1955.)

PLANS FOR UNIVERSITY IN EASTERN NIGERIA¹

The Minister of Education for the Eastern Region, Mr. I. U. Akpabio, is visiting Europe and the U.S.A. to discuss with the Colonial Office, with the Inter-University Council, with UNESCO, and others the need for a University. He said that between 600 and 1,000 students in the Eastern Region were qualified for University education, but could not find places. Such University education to a standard required in British or American Universities was a prerequisite to the Africanization of Nigerian services in government, industry and commercial life, and to make universal primary education a reality. The proposed University would not be in competition with Ibadan University College. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, October 19, 1955.)

Dr. Azikiwe also visited the United States and said that £2,500,000 had been allocated for the University, which would have six faculties, covering Arts, Engineering, Law, Medicine, Science and Theology, as well as Institutes for teaching technical skills.

UNESCO is to send an expert mission to advise the Eastern Region Government on the establishment of the University.

Two hundred and fifty thousand books have been collected by Americans as donations to the library of the University, and the Eastern Region Library Board. American librarians, who will be paid by the "Books for Africa Movement" will be sent to Eastern Nigeria. The Collier-Cromwell Publishing Company will give \$15,000 worth of encyclopedias to the University and the Library Board. (*News from Nigeria*, October 26 and November 23, 1955.)

EAST AFRICA Zanzibar

MULTI-RACIAL OPPOSITION TO CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS

THE Arab Association of Zanzibar has been joined in its opposition to the new constitutional proposals by the Muslim Association, and by representatives of the Sherazi (indigenous African community). Throughout the island a demand is growing for the replacement of communal representation by a multi-racial government elected on a common roll.

The leader of a movement representing nine different Swahili groupings is a prominent African, Sheik Haji Hussein. The aim is to weld the various African elements together and persuade them to forget their differences of opinion regarding which group constitutes the truly indigenous African community in Zanzibar. Representations have been made to Mr. W. A. C. Matheison, head of the East African Department of the Colonial Office, who has been visiting the island.

This new organization, according to the *Tanganyika Standard* (November 9, 1955), might be styled "Subjects of His Highness the Sultan", and the chief reason for its emergence

¹See DIGEST Vol. III, No. 2.

seems to be a feeling by its leaders that there has been too much communalism in the past and too narrow a representation in Zanzibar Associations. In an address to Mr. Mathieson, they said they were "fed up with the communal compartments into which the political institutions of the country have been divided" and stressed the importance "of a Commission with the widest terms of reference to inquire into the whole problem of the constitution, and that such a Commission should be impartial".

The *Tanganyika Standard* commented: "If this movement has a solid foundation and proves to be truly non-racial in its outlook, and obtains the support of all responsible people in the protectorate, its inauguration may mark the beginning of a new era in Zanzibar in which all parties will sink their differences and work with a united purpose for the general good. Until communalism is abandoned for a real 'Zanzibar' outlook, there can be no great political advance in the protectorate and some such compromise as the Rankine proposals is inevitable." However, the editorial commended the suggestion for an impartial Commission to inquire into the whole constitution.

The Asian journal, *Adal Insaf* (October 22, 1955) referred to the action of the President of the Muslim Association, in openly refuting the viewpoint of one of the members of the Indian National Association accepting the new constitutional proposals on behalf of the Indians.

It commented: "The only panacea left for the Government to draft in its legislative body persons of the right type of material in them, is the adoption and introduction of the principle of election, for there is a consensus of opinion among politicians and public-spirited men that Zanzibar has reached a stage when she can benefit from elections so that the controversy raging between Associations claiming to represent the opinion and views of the different main races would come to an end soon, and the public may have the opportunity to elect and send the right type of persons to sit on the Legislative Council and fight for the common interests of the public and not for those of certain parochial sections of a community or communities."

Adal Insaf also supported the proposal of the Arab Association for a Round Table Conference to "thrash out the problems of election".

ASSASSINATION OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL MEMBER

Sheikh Sultan Ahmed el-Mugheiri, and the Pemba Arab unofficial member of the Legislative Council, was stabbed outside his home after breaking the eighteen-month Arab boycott of the Legislative Council by attending a meeting, at which he expressed regret that his people had been unrepresented. At the Council meeting the Sheikh had been welcomed by the British Resident, Mr. H. S. Potter, who expressed regret that the Arab Association was continuing its boycott, and said that the Sheikh had the "strong support" of the Pemba people. The secretary of the Pemba Arab Association, however, sent a cable to the *Tanganyika Standard* in which he declared that "the Pemba Arabs emphatically repudiate the alleged support of the Sultan Ahmed" in the council, and were "shocked" by the British Resident's speech.

The Sheikh died in hospital. Five men, all members of one family, have appeared in court in connexion with the assassination and were remanded until December 16.

High Commission

THE life of the East Africa Central Legislative Assembly has been extended for another four years. In Uganda, out of a House of sixty members, half of whom are Africans, only eight were opposed to the motion, being in the main Baganda members whose apprehension of an East African Federation continues.

In both the Kenya and Tanganyika Councils the motion was accepted though Group Captain L. R. Briggs (Mount Kenya) voiced misgivings that certain proposals might be the first step towards some form of East African federation. He said that having regard to the very unstable political conditions which existed in Uganda at present, and the very great dangers involved there, he believed that any idea of strengthening present ties with Uganda might well be disastrous for Kenya, and Tanganyika as well.

Tanganyika

THE GOVERNOR SAYS "NO FEDERATION"

SIR EDWARD TWINING, the Governor, in a speech at the annual dinner of the Tanganyika Sisal Growers Association declared that: "However attractive the idea of a federation of East Africa may be to some people, particularly those who do not live in East Africa, anyone who is familiar with the present political outlook in the three territories must know that such a proposition is not practical politics today. Let us therefore dismiss it from our minds and take note of the fact that each territory has its own political outlook and is developing its own political institution along its own lines."

"But we cannot overlook the realities of geography and history which are much stronger factors than expressions of sentiment," continued Sir Edward. "It so happens that the three territories are contiguous, share to a greater or lesser extent the same lines of communications and are beset with common problems, and so it has been natural that some of these matters have come to be looked upon from a regional point of view . . . We cannot afford to have bad neighbourly relations. We have got to work together, going our own way only when it is impossible to reach agreement or in cases where it is obviously to our advantage to do so." (*Tanganyika Public Relations Department*, September 30, 1955.)

AFRICAN WOMEN SUPPORT T.A.N.U.

An African woman was one of the speakers at a public meeting organized in Dar es Salaam by the Tanganyika African National Union, which has resumed open activity after the return from a five-months holiday inland by its President and leading spirit, Mr. Julius Nyerere. Speaking to a crowd of about 7,000, including the T.A.N.U. Women's Section, seen in public for the first time, the chairman of the section deprecated the fact that African husbands normally prevented their womenfolk from joining organizations and attending public meetings. Both T.A.N.U. and the British Government, she said, had the same aim—to prepare Tanganyika for self-government, and before Africans achieved self-government

they must prove that they were capable of running their own affairs.

Mr. Nyerere wanted the new constitution to be closely reviewed at the end of three years, and called for elections to Legislative Council, at least in Dar-es-Salaam, without delay.

The Government's view is that experience should first be gained in local government elections as soon as there is public desire for them. Some Town Councils may have elections next year. (*Tanganyika Public Relations Department*, September 30, 1955.)

Venture (the Fabian Colonial Bureau's journal, December, 1955) paid tribute to the establishment and growth of the T.A.N.U., which had been founded only in July 1954, and, in spite of some Government opposition, has achieved considerable success in building up branches throughout Tanganyika. The editorial added: "The Tanganyika African National Union is a unique political organization in the African continent. It is nationalistic and therefore opposes multi-racialism and communalism as a permanent pattern for Tanganyika. It has fixed its eyes upon full democracy on the British model, yet the movement has so far avoided all the stridency, intolerance and demagoguery which have normally marked such nationalist movements. They have held huge mass meetings in Dar-es-Salaam without the slightest disorder or even mob emotion. They have maintained friendly relations with the other races. They are prepared to see a gradual evolution towards their aims and demand only that the final aim of democracy shall be stated.

"Such a responsible, moderate and good humoured national movement deserves every possible encouragement. There is some fear that those administrators in the territory who have, over the past few years, done an excellent job in developing happy race relations and gradual constitutional progress, may now be too fixed in their ideas to appreciate the significance of this new African movement. To classify these intelligent and constructive African leaders as 'agitators' is to display an appallingly anachronistic view of the importance of African political progress. Tanganyika offers the opportunity of working out in a peaceful and friendly atmosphere some of the great problems of race relations which assail all parts of the world. The African National Union undoubtedly will be the most important element in any such experiments. It is Britain's responsibility to ensure that their co-operative approach is met with equal warmth and encouragement on our side."

UNIVERSITY OF TANGANYIKA

The Asian journal *The Tanganyikan* (October, 1955) commented that "leaders of thought from England and Tanganyika are exercising their minds about the possibilities of providing a University to Tanganyika just as Rhodesia is going to have. This is a welcome idea and we hail it with delight, for it is in the sphere of intellectual advancement that the multi-racialism, so much in vogue now will be truly and thoroughly nurtured, leading up one day to the National Culture of Tanganyika to assimilate the triple tributaries of Eastern, Western and African Cultures and broadbase the country on a synthetic culture of its own which will serve as a beaconlight not only to Africa but to the Commonwealth and the world at large, making Tanganyika a Switzerland of Africa and Dar-es-Salaam its Geneva.

TRIBAL QUARRELS

The trouble that broke out in July and again in September, in the Morogoro district, about 120 miles west of Dar-es-Salaam, has now been brought under control according to a report from the *Tanganyika Public Relations Department* (September 30, 1955) which said that strong action was taken by Administration and Police in mid-September when members of a faction in the Waluguru tribe of the Morogoro district who oppose the present chief on dynastic grounds took advantage of some tribesmen's doubts about an important soil conservation scheme to work up strong feelings against the Native and the Central Government. There was a campaign of law-breaking and threats. Strong forces of Police were moved in, patrols maintained and the ringleaders brought to court.

Uganda

PRESS REPORTING ON THE RETURN OF THE KABAKA

CONFLICTING reports reached London about events on the Kabaka's return to Buganda. The Provincial Press in Britain described the happenings in what appears to be a much more objective manner than some of the National daily papers, some of whose reports differed on many points.

Mr. Martin Flegg, who attended the celebrations in Uganda, wrote to *East Africa & Rhodesia* (November 10, 1955), to correct a number of resulting misapprehensions. An editorial in *East Africa & Rhodesia* (October 27, 1955) had referred to reports in London newspapers and had concluded that all but one Fleet Street daily (*Daily Telegraph*) had "whether deliberately or merely accidentally . . . failed to record several significant incidents which occurred in Uganda". The comment continued: "Day after day, for instance, the dispatch in *The Times* suggested that all was harmony and happiness, while the telegrams from the special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* were simultaneously showing that that was not the case. It would not be fair, of course, to deduce from the published versions that the Kampala representative of Printing House Square (*The Times*) failed to note and report any or all of the ways in which the Kabaka publicly slighted Sir Andrew Cohen, the Governor. Sub-editing in London may have been responsible for the striking differences in the evidence provided by the two leading newspapers . . ."

The editorial again referred to the *Daily Telegraph* reporter's descriptions of "polite contempt" shown by the Kabaka on various occasions "for the attempts of the Governor to be friendly" and mentioned the Uganda Congress's renewed campaign for self-government in two years and independence in five, and felt that these and other reported facts scarcely gave ground for contentment with the happenings on the Kabaka's return. It added: "So far from satisfied were members of the European community in Uganda that many absented themselves from the garden party given at Government House in celebration of the Kabaka's return; they considered that much too much fuss was being made of a young man who had erred gravely, and who is the present (and perhaps temporary) hero of his tribe because he symbolizes what they regard as a British retreat and defeat. That reading of the situation is, of course, an over-simplification. The Kabaka has been most generously treated on all sides, particularly by Mr. Lyttelton (now Lord

Chandos) and Mr. Lennox-Boyd, but that should not be misrepresented as formal obliteration of his faults and it should not warp the judgement of those concerned with public affairs. It would be foolish to ignore the fact (as was done on Sunday by the *Observer*, a cordial apologist for the Kabaka) that an African who did not prostrate himself before the returned Kabaka was promptly done to death in his vicinity.¹ That certainly does not argue the high standard of behaviour which the Baganda claim for themselves."

In his letter Mr. Flegg said: "I have made inquiries from persons present and from the police about the bicycle incident, and it appears that your report is grossly inaccurate. There was no question whatever of disrespect to the Kabaka. The rider of the bicycle was a notorious bicycle thief who had escaped from custody and was riding a stolen bicycle. He was chased by a section of the crowd and somewhat roughly handled, but not killed. He has recovered from his superficial injuries and is now again in custody."

"The statement that the garden party given by the Governor was partially boycotted by the European community is nonsense. There were many Europeans, Africans, and Asians present, and as I was present I can vouch for the fact that it was a most successful party and enjoyed by all."

"The allegation that the Kabaka has treated the Governor with 'polite contempt' is offensive and untrue. In the first place such conduct would be a breach of good manners, and good manners is one of the outstanding qualities of the Baganda from which I, for one, certainly could learn. Secondly, it has been obvious to any unbiased observer that the Governor and Lady Cohen have evinced a friendly attitude to the Kabaka which has been reciprocated by him and which will grow as mutual confidence is restored . . .

"Such newspaper jargon that the Kabaka's London friends are 'symbols of a kind of left-wing rival authority to the Colonial Office' is almost too absurd to deserve comment. The people who accompanied the Kabaka to Uganda represented no particular political faction. My wife and I, who have been strong Conservatives all our lives, were highly amused at being called 'left-wing', but others more sensitive were quite indignant . . .

"With reference to your leading article my comments are as follows:—

"*The Times* is in the habit of presenting facts, and the suggestion that all is harmony and happiness is pretty near the mark. The correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* is perfectly entitled to draw his own conclusions from what he observes, but these conclusions do not coincide with the conclusions of many others who were present at various ceremonies, including my wife and myself . . .

"The other mis-statements in your leading article have been dealt with earlier in this letter and I need not copy you by repetition. The *Observer* was obviously wise in ignoring 'facts' which turned out to be fiction."

"The restoration of the Kabaka presents a wonderful opportunity for restoring the confidence of the Baganda in Britain and in the the Protectorate Administration, and anyone who says anything tending to destroy or diminish this confidence does a disservice to the Commonwealth and also the people of Buganda. Since I have been in Buganda I have been greatly

¹Many newspapers reported that an African who refused to get off his bicycle and bow to the Kabaka had been beaten to death by the crowd.

encouraged by the friendly attitude of the Civil Service headed by the Governor assisted by Lady Cohen, and by the Baganda headed by the Kabaka assisted by the Ministers."

"Never have I seen a happier people or one more well behaved than the Baganda on the day the Kabaka arrived and during the ensuing week. From the many conversations I have had both with responsible Baganda and with members of the Administration it has been patently obvious that there is a strong desire on both sides that the new constitution shall be made to work successfully and that the re-established friendship shall continue and increase."

The *Uganda Argus* (October 18, 1955) commented on the arrival of the Kabaka: "A great day is over, a day of excitement, of ceremony, of tumultuous welcome the more notable for being also so controlled. The Kabaka of Buganda has returned to his Kingdom. In its mixture of emotion and restraint it was a day full of promise not only for the enjoyment by all of this week of celebrations but for the future beyond. For all who took part, it was a triumphant success."

At the end of the week's programme of official celebrations the *Argus* commented: "The outstanding impression perhaps is of the way in which the enthusiasm of this great demonstration of the place that the Kabaka holds as the focus for the existence of his Kingdom has been backed by restraint. Very large crowds have behaved with a friendly helpfulness and orderliness that have contributed immeasurably to the impressiveness of the occasion. They must have helped considerably to ease the burden that the organization of such occasions inevitably lays upon the police to whom a special debt of gratitude is due for the work they have done in the direction of crowds and traffic."

Among editorial comments in the British Provincial Press, the *Sunderland Echo* (October 18, 1955) said: "Since it was decided that the Kabaka should return to his throne, the Governor has acted most generously and has himself done a great deal to ensure that the young king's home-coming would be a triumphant one. Indeed we may safely say that after the initial upset in 1953, the principals concerned in the affair have behaved with the greatest of moderation and good sense. Their conduct augurs well for the future of Buganda."

The *Wolverhampton Express & Star* (October 17, 1955) praised the remarkable self-control of the Kabaka during his exile, and the *Norwich Eastern Daily Press* (October 17, 1955) commented: "The Baganda naturally feel that their great triumph is to have got their Kabaka back, but the constitutional advance made possible by his exile is the real triumph. It may be true that Britain changed her mind and the Baganda can be forgiven for assuming that their own clamour brought about the change. The more accurate interpretation is that the willingness of the Baganda to join Sir Keith Hancock, Sir Andrew Cohen and the legal advisers in shaping the new Agreement was the real cause of the Kabaka's return. Without that willingness, the deadlock would have remained; with it, Britain's most advantageous course was to revise her decision and send the Kabaka home. The rest is up to the Kabaka himself. His country is on the verge of rapid social and economic developments and if he plays his new part with the reasonableness he and his people have shown in the past two years, Uganda can again be a model for the less happy African territories."

The *Exeter Express and Echo* (October 17, 1955) described the tremendous happiness with which the Kabaka's home-

coming was celebrated, and added: "When he got back to the royal palace today, he found there even more touching proofs of loyalty and affection; for during the week crowds of up to 4,000 volunteers had been swarming there daily to put the finishing touches to the reed fence (which had not been repaired for many years), to repair roads, fit new curtains in the palace, polish the royal silver, tidy up the palace grounds, and water the roses newly planted by devoted nuns."

SPEECHES AT THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT

The Kabaka of Buganda said at the signing of the Buganda Agreement, 1955: "My work for the future is for tranquillity and peaceful progress with the ultimate aim of self-government for Buganda within the framework of self-governing Uganda."

He thanked the Regents and others and said that during "those months of absence" the Nabagereka had been the focal point of loyalty to him and all the friends of the country. Referring to the Kabakas who would follow him, he said that the new Constitution had made a fundamental change in the position of the Kabaka. He hoped that the change would prove of benefit to the country as a whole and would also benefit and strengthen the Kabakaship.

The Kabaka made a solemn declaration of loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen, and to abide by the terms of the Agreement, and then explained the advances made under it.

The Governor of Uganda, Sir Andrew Cohen, expressed his happiness in welcoming back the Kabaka and said: "Speaking for all the other people of the Protectorate, I want to tell this great gathering of Baganda how whole-heartedly we all join in the rejoicing of your people and in wishing you a happy return to this country."

Sir Andrew conveyed the good wishes of Her Majesty's Government and assured the Kabaka and his people of the deep and abiding friendship of the British people. He also welcomed the "distinguished visitors from Britain" whose "presence is a visible sign of the deep interest of the British people in the affairs of Buganda, of the concern which the British people felt during the difficult times we have been through, and above all of the friendship between the British people and the people of Buganda."

The speeches were punctuated with applause and drumming in response to remarks that were particularly appreciated—the warmest response came for the Kabaka's remark about the ultimate aim of self-government for Buganda within the framework of self-governing Uganda, and applause and laughter greeted the Governor's quotation of a Kiganda proverb: "The roof of a house is not tested until there has been a heavy storm of rain. The roof of our house has been tested and has proved itself sound."

REPRISALS AGAINST BAGANDA DISLOYAL TO THE KABAKA

Throughout November the African press in Uganda carried news, editorial comment and correspondence concerning reprisals that were threatened or were taken against Chiefs and others accused of being disloyal to the Kabaka. The *Uganda Post* promised a full list of the "traitors to the Kabaka and the country" on November 2 and 4, and added that the prices of the paper would remain unaltered. As a result the editor, J. W. Kiwanuka, and his assistant, were ordered by the resident magistrate in Kampala to enter into bonds of £100 each to keep the peace and be of good behaviour for twelve months.

In editorial comments *Empya* and *Eyogera* dealt with the question of traitors to the Kabaka and country at large. *Empya* asked the people to restrain themselves and take a note of the Katikiro's wise words that the traitors should be handled gently so that they might learn to love their country. *Eyogera* also condemned acts of violence. Subsequently *Empya* recommended that a special tribunal should be appointed to deal with the traitors.

The *African Pilot* (November 10, 1955) explained that there were two classes of Kabaka's enemies. In one class were those who had doubted his return because they thought that those who had exiled him had been preparing themselves for a long time for such a deed, and as such could not possibly return him. In the second class were those who had really rejoiced when the Kabaka was exiled; these had even tried to convince others that the Kabaka's departure was final. And it was among these that were found those who had made promises of having their legs cut or having any other thing done to them if the Kabaka ever returned. The comment urged forgiveness and the Katikiro (Prime Minister), Mr. Michael Kintu, was commended for his prompt warning against the use of force.

Dobozi commented: "When the Kabaka was deported, the Lukiko made it clear that no other Kabaka was going to be chosen to replace Mutesa. Yet members of the Resident's office toured the country telling the people that the Kabaka would never return." The editorial stated that it was such officers who misled certain chiefs to think that the Kabaka would never return. The best thing would have been for the Resident to state publicly—some time before the Kabaka came back—that what he had been telling the people about the Kabaka's position, was not so.

A number of incidents took place—one Chief had some crops uprooted and the wife of another had thirty-five banana trees destroyed.

Despite a tour of the trouble area by the Katikiro and statements issued by the Kabaka himself and by the Government, further cases occurred, and the *Manchester Guardian* (November 17, 1955) reported that "two clan heads and an important princess were first removed from office. Later, accounts of damage to property were reported and from November 5 onwards outrages were committed on all grades of chiefs. The reported reason in each case was that the chief in question, presumably in an effort to carry out the Protectorate Government's instructions to tour the district and to convince their people that the Kabaka was definitely not coming back, uttered something between a bet and an oath, such as promising witnesses that they could eat his cattle, change his name, or dig up his father's bones if the Kabaka ever returned."

"No evidence exists that such statements were ever made, but crowds have apparently been organized and are travelling about in lorries singing and beating drums and trying to kill their victims' cattle, threatening to dig up ancestral bones, and in one case carried out a humiliating naming ceremony, conferring an opprobrious name on the victim."

"At least five such cases were reported in the press and one chief was beaten to the point of unconsciousness in front of the Assistant Resident, who was powerless to help him, and a senior chief was visited by 1,500 to 2,000 people, who were summoned by notice in the vernacular press to assemble at the chief's house. In this case no violence was done, but the chief was urged to resign."

A member of the Lukiko suggested that a committee should be set up to inquire into the causes of the disturbances but the Governor stated that after careful consideration and discussion with the Kabaka's Government he was unable to agree to the proposal as he felt that, far from an inquiry being able to stop the present disturbances as suggested, it would probably encourage the airing of grievances against individuals.

The Governor quoted the Kabaka's recent statement: "Our forgiveness of one another in matters such as these is truly indicative of the greatness of our nation. Let us therefore look to the future and work together," and the joint Government's statement, "now that his Highness has returned, these things should be forgotten." (*The Times*, November 28, 1955.)

In the House of Commons on November 31 the Colonial Secretary, Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd, M.P., in a written reply to a question, stated that he was fully aware of the disgraceful attack on the Buganda chief who was beaten to the point of unconsciousness in front of the Assistant Resident and that: "Five arrests have so far been made and others are expected. Statements condemning such incidents were at once made by the Kabaka and by the Buganda and Protectorate Governments jointly. The latter statement made it clear that no further lawlessness would be tolerated. I am glad to be able to say that there have been no more incidents involving violence. Two mobile police patrols are being maintained in areas where incidents might occur and extra police are being stationed in those areas."

"I am sure that the House will agree that all possible steps must be taken to prevent any further victimization or intimidation. I have taken action to ensure that responsible people in Buganda are aware of the concern of Her Majesty's Government which I feel sure is shared by all parties here."

The Buganda Appointments Board, whose members, under the new Agreement, are appointed by the Kabaka, has asked four Baganda *saza* (county) chiefs to resign.

Kenya

JUSTICE¹

THE action of the Supreme Court, which reviewed and increased the sentences imposed on the officers concerned in the case of Kamau Kachina, was received with widespread acclaim, although in Parliament and in the press in Britain, disquiet was still expressed as to why the charge against the police officers was altered from one of murder to one of causing grievous bodily harm to the prisoner—a step which can only be taken with the consent of the prosecution, and therefore of the Attorney-General's department in Kenya. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, explained in the House of Commons that this was because medical evidence had been that death might have resulted from causes other than this maltreatment.

Before leaving Kenya on his retirement, the President of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa, Sir Barclay Nihill, made an important comment on the jury system in Kenya, which at present is restricted to the European community in trials in which the accused is a European. For the African and Asian communities there is a system of assessors of the same race as the accused who can only express an opinion on the guilt of the accused, but whose conclusions the judge is not bound to

accept. Sir Barclay thinks that the jury system in East Africa will eventually either have to be extended to all races, or discontinued. The time would come, he said, when it would be difficult to justify judicial privileges for one race as against another. From his own experience in other parts of the world he believed that multiracial juries could work successfully; but if multiracial juries came into being in East Africa there would have to be a high qualifying standard from both educational and financial viewpoints . . . (*The Times*, October 24, 1955.)

Meanwhile, the commission appointed by the Governor of Kenya to inquire into the working of African courts in the troubled areas has reported that it is satisfied that there are "no widespread abuses or injustices" within the courts visited.

Only one case of injustice was found, which was described as "a complete travesty of justice", and the commission's recommendation for the resulting conviction to be quashed was carried out by the Government.

PRISONS FACE "HEAVY TASK OF IMPROVEMENT"

The Kenya Prisons' Department continued to feel the full impact of the emergency during 1954, and the daily average number of prisoners and persons detained under the Emergency Regulations, which stood at 27,120 in 1953 rose to 81,920. Prisons and detention camps had to be considerably increased, and three times the number of staff to be employed. The Acting Commissioner of Prisons, Mr. N. A. Cameron, also stated in his annual report that committals to prison totalled 55,031—a decrease of 8,683 on the 1953 figure. More than 16,000 were for offences under the Emergency Regulations.

Leg-irons were used as a means of restraint in 2,832 cases. It was found necessary for a time to extend conditions of use of leg-irons to avert serious disorder and attempted mass escape, particularly among condemned and capital remand prisoners in Nairobi . . .

Overcrowding continued and among the other sections covered by the report was that stating that 1,048 African subordinate officers were struck off the strength of the establishment—428 discharged for misconduct, 412 as unlikely to become efficient, and 38 for conviction by the courts, and 25 deserted . . .

622 prisoners were executed, all but 17 for offences connected with the Emergency . . . Committals to detention camps numbered 25,970, compared with 32,862 in 1953 . . . 1,014 detainees absconded . . . (*East African Standard*, November 10, 1955.)

THE GOVERNOR'S REVIEW

In an address to the Legislative Council, the Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, reviewed the improvements in the security situation as a result of the breaking up of gangs, the defection of some Mau Mau, the capture or death of a number of leaders, and the increasing danger Mau Mau gangs face in trying to get food in the Kikuyu Land Unit's districts. However a number of desperate criminals still at large are capable of committing individual murders and stock thefts have not been entirely eliminated.

Sir Evelyn described methods of improving the security situation and then referred to the problems of reconstruction. He said that the greatest problem was that of reabsorption into the ordinary life of the community of "displaced" Kikuyu, Embu and Meru, and of detainees. He described an irrigation

¹See DIGEST Vol. III, No. 4.

scheme in Southern Embu; provisions for an improved resident labour system in forest development work; the development of cash crops, and other experimental work.

DETENTION OF MR. W. ODEDE¹ AND EX-CHIEF KOINANGE

Mr. Leslie Hale, M.P. (Labour) reopened in the House of Commons the question of the continued detention of Mr. W. Odede, a Member of the Kenya Legislative Assembly, who has been in prison without charge or trial for nearly three years, and of ex-Chief Koinange who, "since the Kenya Courts dismissed the indictment against him two years ago on the ground that there was no case to answer, has remained in prison though nearly 90 years of age."

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd, replied that they were detained on grounds of public security and the need for their continued detention was kept under regular review by the Governor.

DEBATE ON POLICY CONCERNING CAPTURED TERRORISTS

Sir Charles Markham, one of the European Unofficial Elected Members of the Legislative Council, introduced a motion, which both sides of the House accepted, calling upon the Government to publish a consistent policy in regard to captured and surrendered terrorists, and then to carry that policy out. Commenting, the *East African Standard*, (November 10, 1955) said: "None will deny the right of the Government and the Security forces . . . to make use of captured terrorists and surrendered gang members to obtain all information of operational value. Indeed, it is the normal practice of all Intelligence departments in like circumstances. Nor is it wrong to encourage such prisoners to give practical aid to the Government in the interests of public security and the restoration of law and order. But there must be limits."

"The period during which these rebels are held by security force units for operational use must be strictly limited and thereafter they should become the responsibility of the Police Department and be regarded as criminals under arrest on suspicion while the case against them is prepared for consideration by the Legal Department. Such help as they give the Government of the Colony and its armed Forces should and must count in their favour and be recorded against the time when they are brought to court. Only in the most exceptional cases—if at all—should any terrorist be exempted from standing trial if there is evidence against him on which a charge can be brought, and in all such cases a full public statement of the circumstances should be made at the first suitable opportunity."

LATEST FIGURES OF EMERGENCY

The Kenya Government information office issued the following figures on October 19:—A year ago 277,000 Africans were housed in 259 new villages in the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru reserves. The numbers now are 1,077,000 and 846 respectively. In Nairobi, ensuring closer administration of the city's African population, there are now 21 chiefs, each with his own headquarters. Since the emergency began 13,853 Mau Mau have been killed or captured or have surrendered, of whom 9,800 were killed, nearly 3,000 of them in the past year. The total of surrenders is now over 2,000, including 1,600 in the

¹See *Digest* Vol. I, No. 7.

past 12 months. The security forces' losses in killed are: Europeans, 51, Asians 3, Africans 507. Of the civilians killed 32 were Europeans, 24 Asians and 1,604 Africans. Up to 18 October, 962 men had been executed for Mau Mau offences. Although several women have been sentenced to death no woman has been executed. (*The Times*, October 20, 1955.)

CHILD NEGLECT SERIOUS

The Principal Probation Officer, Mr. Colin S. Owen, in his 1954 report referred to the lack of concern about the juvenile work that requires to be done in Kenya. He said: "To neglect this work may have serious repercussions in relation to the future of the races in Kenya. It is difficult to arouse public interest in a small, unknown child wandering about the vast land of its birth. Yet so much depends upon the influence of environment in which that child will grow as to the manner of man or woman he or she will turn out to be. Good citizenship should include, as a priority, the proper care of children and young persons."

A total of 2,706 juveniles, aged between 8 and 18, passed through the Nairobi Juvenile Court. The high figure was chiefly because of the enforcement of Emergency Regulations, and a stricter observation of the existing law on the movement of children and young persons . . . Many children, left homeless by the removal of their parents, wandered into Nairobi and resorted to crime as the only means of existence. Probation officers were able to find and hand over 269 children to their parents. (*East African Standard*, November 11, 1955.)

AFRICANS AT EUROPEAN FARMERS' MEETING

For the first time two African farmers (of the Kipsigis tribe) attended the conference of the Kenya National Farmers Union. In welcoming them, the president, Mr. F. H. Sprott, expressed the hope that their attendance would be the means of cementing the growing friendship between European and African farmers. (*The Times*, October 13, 1955.)

WAGES IN KENYA

In a report on employment and wages in Kenya, the East African Statistical Department stated that the average wage drawn by a full-time European male was £970 in agriculture and forestry, £1,225 in private industry and commerce, and £1,115 in the public service. Equivalent figures for Asian males were £450, £405 and £410.

African wages, it is stated, cannot be broken down according to sex. The average for all Africans, including juveniles, was £26 in agriculture and forestry, £59 in private industry and commerce, and £60 in the public service. (*East African Standard*, November 4, 1955.)

AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

The Kenya Advisory Council on African Education has recommended the setting up of two teacher-training delegacies, each with its own governing council, to co-ordinate the work of training African teachers in the Colony.

A proposal to start a higher diploma course in surgery in East Africa has been made as a result of discussions between the E.A. Association of Surgeons and the Kenya Medical Department.

A pilot scheme in adult literacy introduced just over a year ago among the Kamba tribe, has resulted in more than 3,000

Kamba attending classes in the Machakos district alone. This year the campaign has been extended to South Nyanza and some 4,500 people are attending.

A similar campaign has been started for the Masai at Ngong under Mr. Peter Young, who launched the Machakos scheme and now hopes to produce some 200 literate Masai each year. The Kenya Government has voted more than £20,000 of the grant recently made by the U.S. Foreign Administration to the expansion of the programme. (*Commonwealth News Agency*.)

WHITE HIGHLANDS

In the House of Commons, Mr. James Johnson, M.P. (Labour) referred to the statement in the Agricultural Census of the E.A. Statistical Department that 5 per cent or 210,000 acres of the White Highlands has no owner, and another 11 per cent or 880,000 acres, is undeveloped or unused. He asked whether the transfer of some of this land to selected African farmers could be considered.

The Colonial Secretary replied: "Parts of the unowned area are useless for agricultural purposes and for some the development costs have proved too high. Other parts consist of small pockets which required to be joined to larger units for economic working. The undeveloped areas consist mostly of small isolated parts of well-developed European farms which have not been brought into use because of poor fertility, irrigation problems or inaccessibility. They would be useless to peasant farmers. Under the Agricultural Ordinance passed this year, the Kenya Government has taken powers to ensure full development in the Highlands and other scheduled areas." (*Hansard*, November 9, 1955.)

FARMER SETTLERS

The Kenya Government intends to devote £300,000 over the next five years to financing an annual intake of about forty young European farmers who will be carefully selected.

Somaliland

CASE OF THE HAUD

THE correspondence in *The Times* in connection with the attempt of Somali representatives to have their appeal discussed at the United Nations and referred to the International Court, was continued. Mr. J. H. Lodge wrote that no question of any "cession" of the Reserved Area and the Haud to Ethiopia can possibly arise in 1955 because they were internationally recognized as Ethiopian territory between 1897 and 1935. He added: "Nor did Britain 'cede' them to Ethiopia in 1897: they have not at any time been hers to cede." He also asked what evidence there was that Britain had ever "agreed to protect" the Reserved Area or the Ogaden. (October 13, 1955.)

In reply the Rev. Michael Scott wrote that Mr. Lodge begged every question. The Somali contention in fact is that Britain did not "cede" the reserved area and the Haud to Ethiopia in 1897 since "they have not at any time been hers to cede." Referring to Mr. Lodge's question as to what evidence there was that Britain had agreed to protect these areas, Mr. Scott said: "This is a matter which the Somalis ask should be resolved by the International Court." He referred to the questions in the Somali petition to the U.N. framed as follows:

"(1) Where a protectorate is established at the express

invitation of peoples desiring protection can the protecting Power transfer any portion of the protected territory, whether on the demarcation of boundaries or otherwise, without consultation with the peoples protected and without their consent and approval?"

"(4) Does the evidence available today establish conclusively that the territory now in dispute was Somali territory which, on the fixing of a boundary line with Ethiopia, was purported to be transferred to Ethiopia under the terms of the Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1897 and annexures thereof?"

Mr. Scott added: "The Somalis, however, contend that since a protecting Power does not own the protected country, it has no legal right to give away any part of such territory any more than a trustee has a legal right to give away the trust property to a stranger. The issue at the present stage is not whether their argument is well founded, but whether it should be referred to the only tribunal which is competent to adjudicate in the matter.

"Since 1945 the British Government have had disputes with Albania, the Argentine, Persia, Guatemala, and Norway. In each instance they have professed their willingness to refer the matter to the International Court, and have urged their adversaries to agree. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising that they should oppose such reference in the case of Somaliland." (October 18, 1955.)

Subsequent letters from Miss E. Sylvia Pankhurst referred to the Ethiopian Somalis who had strongly opposed the loan of the "reserved area" (including the Haud) which had been negotiated by Britain under the 1944 Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement. She said that when she had visited them, Ethiopian Somalis had bitterly complained that they had been left under British rule. When the agreement was signed "an Ethiopian Somali representative in the Parliament made a most poignant plea on behalf of his people and broke down in tears begging his compatriots to pray for them."

Miss Pankhurst said the Agreement of 1954, which restored the areas to Ethiopia, "is being gravely violated", and she criticized the individuals who have taken the petition to the U.N. on the grounds that one "is a mission-trained Christian employee of the British administration with little knowledge of the Somali language; the other described by Sir Gerald Reece (formerly Governor of the Protectorate) as 'one of the most sensible', threatens 'fighting and killing' if the agreement is not abrogated."

Sir Gerald Reece had written: "The Agreement made on November 29 last was the best that we could do, but a poor best; and if it stands not only will there be constant international friction but probably bloodshed, and much expense to boot. Meanwhile the very considerable effort which is being made to improve conditions in our Somaliland Protectorate will be partially wasted, for you cannot make much progress with such things as mass education, medical and veterinary schemes, nor with legal and police and local government reform, if half of your people have to live for half of the year under a foreign flag.

"We know that the Emperor has to face many difficulties, and in refusing to lease the Haud to us no doubt he had to consider public opinion and national pride in Ethiopia. Menelek's Empire is still somewhat sacred, and it was Haile Selassie himself who lifted the first spadeful of sand when the Sinclair Oil Company began to bore for oil in the Haud. Moreover, all of

this desert might be a useful buffer in the future, for invasions of Ethiopia by Europeans and Muslims have not been quite forgotten. The Duke of Aosta, when Viceroy of Italian East Africa, is known to have believed that the perpetual south-westerly movement of the Somali tribes was of importance to Eastern Ethiopia.

"But would not Haile Selassie do well now, in the interests of everyone concerned, to make his contribution towards the welfare and happiness of the Somali people, who have been so much neglected in the past? It is obvious that, like everyone else, they want to be a nation with a country of their own; and, being a virile people, they will go on fighting with words and, if necessary, with rifles till they get it. Let it be remembered that it took us twenty years, in that very difficult terrain, to subdue the so-called 'Mad' Mullah of Somaliland." (October 21, 1955.)

Mr. James Johnson said: "Miss Pankhurst, in her letter to *The Times* of November 18, supports a proposal that all Somalis under European rule should ultimately federate with Ethiopia. This surely is a matter for the Somalis themselves to decide, and it is equally important that the choice between an independent sovereign State (promised to the trusteeship territory of Somalia in 1960) and federation with Ethiopia should be freely made by all Somalis. This, of course, includes those Somalis who, presumably by conquest, have been under Ethiopian rule for the past fifty-eight years." (November 25, 1955.)

DEBATE IN HOUSE OF COMMONS

Mr. James Johnson, M.P. initiated a debate in the House of Commons on November 17. The following summary and comments were given by *East Africa and Rhodesia* (November 24, 1955):—

"Welcome candour characterized the adjournment debate . . . devoted to the failure of the Ethiopian authorities to fulfil their undertakings under the agreement made with them a year ago in respect of two areas adjoining the southern border of the British Somaliland Protectorate which had for some time immemorial been used for grazing purposes by tribes which have been under British protection since the latter part of the nineteenth century. Mr. James Johnson . . . spoke of a 'reign of terror', asserted that the Ethiopians had placed quislings of their own nationality among those from the British side of the border who brought over their herds and flocks, and said that the treatment of some British-protected subjects arrested by the Ethiopians had been 'medieval, barbarous and uncivilized'.

"The Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, Mr. Henry Hopkinson, was engagingly frank in his reply for the Government. He admitted that 'quislings' had tried to force British-protected tribesmen to declare themselves Ethiopian subjects, that their superiors had endeavoured to close down a school for British Somalis, that British Somalis arrested by the Ethiopians had been unsatisfactorily treated, and that, in short, 'many of the actions of the Ethiopian authorities have proved to be neither in accord with the letter nor the spirit of the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement, and that, very naturally, is causing great concern to Her Majesty's Government.' It is surprising, however, that the Minister should not have known that men arrested by the Ethiopians have been held without trial for many months . . ."

The case of the Somalis "may be weak from the purely legal standpoint, indeed, British lawyers say that they have no case at all in law. Why, then, should H.M. Government have decided to oppose its reference to the International Court of Justice at the Hague? Consideration of the facts by that impartial tribunal would satisfy the Somalis, who, because they cannot appeal to the Privy Council ask only that their arguments should be heard by some court which is completely independent of the Government of Great Britain and Ethiopia. Surely that is reasonable . . ."

"If Ethiopia cannot be persuaded to join Great Britain in assisting reference to the International Court of Justice, why should this country not abandon the legalistic attitude which it has hitherto adopted and announce that it has no objection to the Somali request? Neither the Secretary of State nor the Minister of State for the Colonies has sought to hide his sympathy with the Somalis. Indeed, both have gone out of their way to emphasize that sympathy in public. It is the Foreign Office which is obstructive; and the Foreign Office can, of course, look to the Prime Minister for special support, for Sir Anthony Eden was Foreign Secretary when that department failed to provide for the Somalis that consideration which they clearly deserved and which British services to Ethiopia fully justified this country in requesting . . . Why should the Somalis be permanently prejudiced because Foreign Office incompetence failed them? . . ."

SOMALI COUNCIL POSTPONED

The Times reported (November 4, 1955) that: "The next session of the Advisory Council, the elected body for the Protectorate, has been postponed indefinitely.

"The reason given is the projected meeting between Ethiopian and British officials in Harar . . . At this meeting it is hoped to elucidate why the Ethiopian authorities are not co-operating in the working of the Anglo-Ethiopian agreement in the areas recently ceded to Ethiopia. According to a British Somaliland Government statement, the meeting is being held because 'it has been found necessary to make known its grave dissatisfaction with the way in which the Ethiopians are operating the agreement and to ascertain more clearly what the Ethiopian intentions are.'"

PILOT SCHEME FOR NOMADIC EDUCATION

In spite of the extension of educational facilities in the Protectorate during the last few years the nomadic people of the interior have received little benefit and the Education Department has for some time been considering how best to provide a form of education which is both suitable and helpful to such people.

Clearly the standard type of formal class-room education provided in our schools is not likely to be suitable or indeed very helpful to the nomad. The nomad has his own peculiar needs arising from his way of life and any form of education provided for him must be specially worked out to meet those needs.

With these ends in view the Education Department has started in a very small way on a pilot scheme to provide education for nomads. The best method of teaching and the most suitable material to be taught can only be found by trial and experiment and it would be foolish to start on a very big scheme before these trials have been completed. Therefore a

start has been made on two Districts only but it is hoped that if the present experiment proves a success it will be possible to expand the scheme to cover all Districts. (Information Dept., Somali Protectorate, October 8, 1955.)

SOUTH AFRICA

ROMAN CATHOLIC FUND FOR AFRICAN SCHOOLS¹

THE £500,000 for which the Roman Catholic bishops recently appealed to enable their 740 mission schools in South Africa to be maintained independently, despite loss of Government subsidies under the Bantu Education Act, was over-subscribed within a few weeks. Donations totalling nearly £1 million have been promised. Archbishop Hurley said many Jews and non-Catholics have contributed, and have congratulated the Roman Catholic Church on the stand taken.

The *Rand Daily Mail* (November 8, 1955) commented: "The response to the appeal on behalf of the Roman Catholic mission schools should hearten not only Catholics but all those people who believe in principles . . . Indeed, although the Catholic bishops' appeal was directly specifically to the rank and file of their own church . . . many non-Catholics have contributed . . . The Natives were frankly told that they themselves must, in the end, expect to share the heaviest burden of their children's education. This courageous stand has appealed to large sections of the community, including the Natives. It is a simple gesture of faith which called for a generous gesture in return."

Die Kerkbode, official organ of the Dutch Reformed Church, condemned the campaign as an agitation under false colours for Catholic schools. "It has seldom happened that any church in our country has tried to promote its cause with so many irresponsible statements. According to the statements of the Catholic priests there is today a national and nation-wide crisis in South Africa."

An official of the Department of Native Affairs said that Roman Catholic Mission schools, like other Native schools, must be registered with the Department. If the church wanted to register a new school, it would first have to satisfy the department that a school was necessary in the particular area. All schools were subject to inspection and had to supply any information asked for about the school. Except in religious instruction the Roman Catholic Mission schools followed syllabuses similar to those in force at other mission schools. If there was anything in the syllabus with which the department did not agree, the Native Affairs Commission could hold an inquiry and, if not satisfied, could ask the Minister of Native Affairs to withdraw the registration of the school. (*Rand Daily Mail*, November, 1955.)

VATICAN PAPER CONDEMNS S.A. RACE POLICY

In an editorial, the *Osservatore Romano* said that the *apartheid* policies of the Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strijdom, were only stirring up resentment among Coloured people and supplying ammunition for a Communist "hate-the-Whites" campaign.

"In the belief," said the paper, "that it is protecting the White people, the Government of Mr. Strijdom is adopting even more stringent measures which differ even less from

¹See DIGEST Vol. III, No. 4.

Hitler's racial policies. Certain South African authorities are even amending the Old Testament. In the summer of 1954 the Secretary for Native Affairs claimed that the Bible clearly shows basic inequality between men. The Government of Mr. Strijdom, with the support of the Reformed Church, keeps referring to Christian principles. This is not the appropriate place to say whether such a policy can or cannot reach the goals it has set for itself. But it is a duty to state that it is unjust and immoral both in the goals it pursues and in the means it uses . . .

"We are faced with systematic and theorized contempt for the human person, with oppression of innocent populations, which however are used as cheap, unskilled manpower. Such a policy cannot but cause equal and opposed reactions. The non-European union movement has taken over the racial theories of White nationalists in the opposite direction, and under Communist leadership proclaims the need to throw out the intruders."

JOHANNESBURG FAMILY CENTRES

In a charge to Synod the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, said: "Since our schools closed in March last we have opened Church Family Centres in ten mission districts in which we have twenty full-time paid African workers. This project has been entirely financed by money specially given for this purpose by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Africa Bureau, private subscribers, and most recently by a gift of £2,000 from an overseas trust. Although the Church Family Centres have only been in existence for a few months valuable service is being rendered to some 1,500 Anglican children, as well as many young people and adults in those districts. Here, good is certainly coming out of evil, for although we are prohibited from giving formal education in these centres it is clear that in them we have an instrument which can be used for building up our African Church people into the Church and of rendering increasing service to them in the coming days." (*British Weekly*, November 3, 1955.)

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION MOVEMENT

The African magazine *Drum* (November, 1955) described the Cultural Clubs set up by the African National Congress to train the 8,000 African children who cannot or will not attend Bantu Education Schools. "In Brakpan, Benoni, Germiston, Natalspruit, Alexandra Township and Moroka the children are crowded into shacks, leaking halls, dilapidated cinemas and even the open veld . . .

"Peoples from various political organizations, educationists, church denominations, private individuals of different opinions, have joined to form the National Education Movement. The function of this movement is to draw up 'lectures' and programmes of activities aimed at giving the 'rebel' children a wide range of general knowledge, to organize number and word games, and to raise funds. The N.E.M. also plans to set up branches in European areas, and to encourage sections to adopt these clubs and organize fund-raising programmes, and to supply the adopted clubs with equipment.

"Scraps of carpentry tools for equipment for boys and rags for sewing kits for the girls are supplied and each is left to his own creativeness. At present they are progressing 'along their

own lines', and soon it is hoped that proper instructors will be available to them . . .

"At these clubs it is illegal to give the children direct tuition, such as teaching them to read and write—even writing the letters ABC. The penalty for giving the children direct schooling is a £50 fine, or six months; and just recently three people from Germiston were arrested for running a 'school shebeen', but were acquitted because it was not proved that they were doing actual teaching. This threat of arrest looms over all the leaders in these cultural clubs, and the police are constantly going round to find just one instance of direct teaching.

"But the National Education Movement is determined that no such situation will become evident. It is presently busy drawing up careful lectures and instructions for leaders, and a kind of syllabus for the parents to follow in their home instruction. The idea behind the starting of the clubs is to mould the children into true citizens in the true concept of democracy."

As an example of the difficulties which these clubs are faced with, *Drum* described a police raid on a hall in Benoni when thirty police with rifles, sten-guns and batons, raided a gathering of 370 children and their leaders, to check whether the children were being taught illegally. One leader calmed the children's fears and started them singing, and *Drum* described how "a man in the police detachment got on the stage, ordering the leader to stop the children singing. When the children would not be quiet, the man picked up a broomstick and menaced them with it. After hitting a few over the head and body, the tots panicked and hid under the stage and beneath the benches. They were asked to give their names and addresses.

"The leader, Mr. Matime, was arrested because his pass showed that he was unemployed. When it was the turn for the children to give their names and addresses, Beauty Moroane ordered them not to comply with the wishes of the police, leading them in Congress slogan songs and doing the Africa sign. The children also made the sign.

"The smaller children were frightened by the police and started screaming and running about in confusion. Beauty Moroane, on the one hand was urging the children to calm down and sing, and the police, on the other, were chasing them round the hall. Beauty was then bundled into the van.

"The older children, eighteen of them, volunteered to go to gaol with Mr. Matime and Beauty Moroane. The police shoved all into the van. When the police left Nabadula Hall, the rest of the children marched to the police station shouting Congress slogans and doing the Africa sign.

"Andries Meketsi, who led the march to the station, was arrested and later charged with public disturbance. In the late afternoon lawyer Leo Lovell, M.P., came round to the station, and later £2 bail was paid for each of the arrested children, and £10 for Andries. On the morning of Friday, Andries case was held in camera, and he was sentenced to six cuts. Lawyer Lovell, who appeared for Andries, has lodged an appeal."

WORLD ASSEMBLY OF YOUTH DEPLORES BANTU EDUCATION ACT

The Executive Committee of WAY, at their assembly in Accra (September 30–October 2, 1955), discussed the educational situation in South Africa in the context of the Bantu Education Act. The following resolution was the culmination

of the Executive Committee's unanimous agreement:—The Executive Committee of WAY, Considering the deplorable situation of non-Europeans in the Union of South Africa, Considering the importance of education in the development of every human being and its rôle in the work of raising standards of living, Considering that the right to an equal education is the birthright of every individual, regardless of race, colour, or creed, Considering that the existence of this right constitutes the essential condition for the full exercise of human freedom and the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Deplores the recently declared policy of the government of the Union of South Africa in the Bantu Education Act to give Africans a "special kind" of education and to eliminate every vestige of non-segregated educational facilities, Expresses solidarity with the National Union of South African Students and all other youth and student organizations in the Union fighting against this law, And urges all young people of the world to support, by all the means at their disposal, the youth of the Union of South Africa in its fight against this discrimination.

UNIVERSITY APARTHEID¹

The Minister of Education, Arts and Science has appointed an interdepartmental committee to investigate the application of *apartheid* at the universities. The committee is instructed to report on the matter with particular reference to the financial implications; the establishment or conversion of institutions and the date of commencement; subjects; personnel; accommodation and buildings; bursaries, control and administration, the prohibition of the admission of Non-Europeans to European Universities and how the scheme should be applied. (*Pretoria News*, November, 1955.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* (November 14, 1955) commented: "Only nine months ago a Government commission produced a report . . . showing that academic *apartheid* would not be a practical proposition at present and its cost would be huge. Furthermore the report of the commission of inquiry into the Fort Hare affair² disclosed some most unfortunate results of a system of segregated higher education for non-Europeans."

The University of Cape Town has reaffirmed its belief that academic segregation is wrong in principle and wasteful and inefficient in application, according to Prof. R. W. James, Acting Principal.

The Students Representative Council of Cape Town University has protested against the appointment of the commission, and stated that the issue was not only that of whether the State could interfere in the autonomy of the universities: it was whether the system of non-segregation was the most desirable. "From our experience we are convinced that it is, and for this reason we condemn the latest move to set up new and segregated universities . . ." (*Pretoria News*, November, 1955.)

RECALL OF FATHER TREVOR HUDDLESTON

The recall of Father Trevor Huddleston, Provincial of the Community of the Resurrection in South Africa, after twelve years in South Africa, to become the Community's Master of Novices, has received a great deal of publicity in both the South African and English press. Denials have been made by

¹See DIGEST Vol. III, No. 2.

²See DIGEST Vol. III, No. 4.

Father Huddleston himself and by Father Raymond Raynes, Superior of the Community at Mirfield, Yorkshire, of suggestions that the new appointment was in any way influenced by external political or ecclesiastical pressure. Father Raynes said: "... Many people not familiar with the ways of religious communities do not perhaps understand that the office of master of novices is one of the most important which can be entrusted to any member of the community . . . The best available person must be chosen. A religious accepts duties and work under obedience. Father Huddleston came to Africa under obedience and has served most faithfully and the community is rightly proud and thankful. It has now become necessary to ask him to undertake other work for his community which is important not only for the community but for the Church and for African work—the training of those upon whom will fall the responsibility of carrying on the community's life and work. Clearly it is no easy thing to decide to recall him and no easy thing for him to accept, but obedience requires both. The community has no intention of lessening its work for God and his African people . . . I wish it to be clear that this statement is the whole truth about the matter." (*Pretoria News*, November 9, 1955.)

In a statement to *The Observer*, Father Raynes added: "The Community of the Resurrection is in no sense opposed to the attitude taken up by Father Huddleston with regard to *apartheid*, and since it has stability and continuity as an order, it will continue its fight against racial injustice in the person of the man who takes Father Huddleston's place, and in the persons of all the other brethren of the Community of the Resurrection."

On arrival in Johannesburg, to investigate confusion concerning the Community's schools as a result of Government policy, Father Raynes said his decision to recall Father Huddleston "is not irrevocable, but it will take a deuce of a lot to make me change my mind." Meanwhile many people of all races have been petitioning to "Keep Huddleston in South Africa". A petition from the multi-racial S.A. Women's Federation said: "Father Huddleston is more widely loved, respected and followed than any other man in the land today." Africans writing in the *Golden City Post* paid tribute to him, and in a letter to the *Johannesburg Star*, Labour and Liberal Members of Parliament, joined with Mr. Alan Paton, the author, and leaders of the African and Indian Congresses, and the Congress of Democrats, in expressing their deep regret at the decision. They added: "We have no wish to challenge the unquestionable authority of the order to which he owes—and gives—his full allegiance. But a great gap will be left in our community by his departure. To non-Europeans especially it will seem as if they are abandoned and left desolate when the doubtiest of their champions (in all, so few) is called away." They therefore appealed to the Community of the Resurrection to leave Father Huddleston to work in South Africa.

In an editorial the *Rand Daily Mail* (November 1, 1955) referred to Father Huddleston as an "uncompromising, courageous defender of principle and idealism". Saying that though in twelve years he had failed to rally European opinion behind him and though the majority do not support him, "they will nevertheless concede that by true standards of Christianity it is difficult to argue a case against Father Huddleston. For that reason he has been a force for good in South Africa, and his departure means the loss of a great moral pillar in our society . . . It is amazing what one man, stirred to white

heat by what he regards as social wrongs, can achieve. Father Huddleston has shown us this. The memorial to his work in Johannesburg lies in the conscience of the community, now slowly moving from inertia to action . . ."

GOVERNMENT INFORMATION OFFICER'S ATTACK

A long and articulate letter was sent to Father Huddleston by Mr. Herzog Biermann, of the State Information Office, Pretoria, who was chief information officer at South Africa House, London, from 1951-4. Mr. Biermann said: "If ever a man deserved to be drummed out of a country, to be ignominiously deported . . . or in the last resort to be strung up from the nearest lamp-post as a renegade, it was you . . . In His infinite wisdom, God has contrived that you should go from here gorged with pharisaical fulfilment and unctuous content . . . You leave behind, like your ill-famed predecessors Van der Kemp, Read and Philip of a century ago, a legacy of mistrust, suspicion and even naked hatred among people who were here before you came and who will, by the grace of God, survive the pernicious effects of your ministry." Mr. Biermann emphasized that he wrote in his personal capacity. (*Johannesburg Sunday Times*, November 20, 1955.)

FATHER HUDDLESTON'S SERMON

In his last sermon preached in Johannesburg Cathedral, and broadcast by the S.A.B.C., Father Huddleston spoke of "the appalling inequality which exists in every city and town in the Union", between the comfort and security of the whites, and the hunger and insecurity which are the curse of blackness. He said: "*Apartheid* is the basic denial that man can have a neighbour at all. It is the refusal of God's plan and purpose. It is blasphemy."

The sermon drew a sharp rebuke from Mr. N. Filmer, Acting Director-General of the S.A.B.C., who said when Father Huddleston's attention was drawn to the regulation disallowing contentious or political matter in religious broadcasts, he gave his assurance that he had no intention of indulging in political controversy. (*Rand Daily Mail*, November 2, 1955.) To this Father Huddleston retorted: "You can say *apartheid* is a political subject, but I think it is a social one . . . To me a political sermon would have been an attack on the Nationalist Government . . . My sermon was not an attack on the government, but an attack on the white people in South Africa and the social order they uphold, which, in my view, is unchristian." (*Rand Daily Mail*, November 3, 1955.)

NEW SENATE ELECTED

The South African Senate was dissolved on November 4. On November 25 the new Senate, composed of eighty-nine instead of forty-eight members, was elected. As predicted, Nationalists were elected to all vacancies except in Natal. Mr. J. Strauss, Leader of the Opposition, amid scenes of uproar, led his party out of the electoral college in Pretoria in protest against the chairman's ruling that no speeches would be allowed. (*Pretoria News*, November 25, 1955.)

The Black Sash movement is maintaining its demonstrations of protest. On the day of the dissolution of the Senate demonstrations were organized in many towns, men and women marched to muffled drums, and vigils were kept throughout the day beside symbolic books of the Constitution on biers. (*Johannesburg Sunday Times*, November 13, 1955.)

Mrs. Jean Sinclair, acting chairman of the Movement, has stated in answer to allegations by Mr. Eric Louw, that membership is restricted to South African women who are entitled to the vote and there is no branch consisting of Native and Indian women. (*Rand Daily Mail*, November, 1955.)

INTER-RACIAL WOMEN'S DEMONSTRATION

The repeal of "all legislation which aims at destroying our solidarity, which denies us human rights, and threatens the future of our children" was demanded by more than 1,200 women—European, African, Indian and Coloured, young and old—who gathered at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, to make a silent protest against legislation which they consider oppressive.

The women were members of the Federation of South African Women.

In addition to protesting against some ten Acts, they demanded free compulsory education, the abolition of fenced locations and ghettos, the repeal of laws which broke up families, freedom to form trade unions, freedom to travel from country to town without restriction, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad.

They came from all parts of the Reef despite the fact that they had been forbidden to march in procession or to hold a public meeting. Licences had been refused for special buses, at some railway stations they were refused tickets to Pretoria, and traffic police took action against taxis and European cars helping to transport the women. Detectives took notes of the proceedings and photographs of some of the participants. (*Rand Daily Mail*, October 28, 1955.)

The Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, refused to meet a mixed delegation, but the Federation declined to substitute an all-Bantu delegation. Copies of the protest were left at the offices of the Ministers concerned.

Mr. Strijdom, the Prime Minister, at a meeting of the women's branch of the Nasionale Jeugbond described the protest movement as "scandalous". Twenty or thirty years ago, he said, it could not have happened that European and non-European women could have gone as a unit to the Union Buildings under the pretence of protest. He added: "We must apply a feeling of friendship towards the millions and millions of non-Europeans in South Africa." This could be done by giving each the opportunity of self-development in his own area. (*Rand Daily Mail*, October 31, 1955.)

MR. SWART AND THE POLICE RAIDS¹

The recent police raids on the private homes and offices of certain persons, in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, were undertaken for the purpose of finding out the position of Communism in the Union today, said the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, at a Nationalist rally at Rustenburg.

He added: "The Opposition are now urging me to make the results public. But I shall not do so. The information will be released at a time when it will be in the best interests of the country." (*Rand Daily Mail*, October 24, 1955.)

The English-language press criticized the apparent lack of adequate reason for the raids. The *Rand Daily Mail* (October 26, 1955) commented: "The raid was apparently no more than an exploratory incursion; and simply because Mr. Swart has an inquiring mind, hundreds of people have to submit to

¹See *Digest* Vol. III, No. 4.

the indignity of a police raid . . . The raids, as with all the talk about poisoned water supplies and hidden arsenals, have produced nothing positive; all they have done is to smear a large number of innocent people with suspicion."

SOUTH AFRICAN OPINIONS

The views of Natives had often been misrepresented. They were not anti-European, but wanted equal opportunities, Dr. J. S. Moroka, former president-general of the African National Congress, said. "With us . . . the Europeans are perfectly safe. We have no evil intentions . . . More and more Europeans are beginning to realize that the salvation of South Africa rests on co-operation." (*South Africa*, November 12, 1955.)

A continuation of segregation and white supremacy in the Union of South Africa would produce Communism in that country, Mr. Frank Lucas, a former South African Judge, said in Los Angeles. "Under full *apartheid* the Natives would only have one-ninth of the land, while they need two-thirds. Add to this the growing catalogue of repressive and discriminatory legislation designed to freeze the Black and Coloured population into a permanent status of inferiority and you will have the seeds from which Communism sprouts and spreads." (*Rand Daily Mail*, October, 1955.)

Emotion, not intelligence, was the only reliable guide to action, Mr. Acting Justice A. B. Beyers told the Cape Parliamentary Debating Society. "I know judges must not talk politics. But in this country you cannot talk about anything—least of all 'Ons Land'—without falling foul of some people . . ." (*Cape Argus*, September 12, 1955.)

The Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Mr. Serfontein, said at a Kruger Day ceremony that the sons and daughters of the Afrikaners had a folk history which was greater and more beautiful than that of any other nation in the world. They had survived 300 years of sacrifice and striving in order to bring White civilization to darkest Africa. (*Cape Times*.)

AFRICA CONGRESS CONFERENCE

More than twenty uniformed and plain-clothes members of the S.A. Police were present when the Natal African National Congress held its annual conference in Durban. The conference passed resolutions strongly condemning the police raids in Congress offices and officials' houses throughout the country; against the threat to issue passes to African women; and the tightening up of laws restricting people in Zululand from seeking work in Durban.

Chief A. J. Luthuli, President-General of the Congress, said: "It was pleasant to see so many men and women, young and old, attending the conference. It is a good sign and shows the political awakening of the people." (*Golden City Post*, October 16, 1955.)

CONGRESS LEADER WINS APPEAL

The appeal by Mr. Walter Sisulu, former secretary-general of the African National Congress, against his conviction in October 1954, under the Suppression of Communism Act, was allowed by the Orange Free State provincial division of the Supreme Court. Mr. Sisulu had been sentenced by a regional magistrate to three months' imprisonment with compulsory labour for attending a gathering after having been prohibited from doing so . . . (*The Times*, November 25, 1955.)

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

THE Nationalist Party won sixteen of the eighteen seats in the elections for the Legislative Assembly of South West Africa. At the last elections five years ago they won fifteen. In each case the remainder of the seats went to the United National South West African Party, the counterpart of South Africa's United Party. The *Daily Telegraph* estimated that of the 28,000 voters in the territory—all whites—70 per cent are Afrikaners, 22 per cent German-speaking and 8 per cent English-speaking.

The Nationalist Party reiterated that the main points of its policy on the constitutional position¹ included:

- "(1) The mandate over South West no longer exists.
- (2) South West has developed beyond its mandatory status, and has become sovereign by sharing the sovereignty of the Union on at least equal terms.
- (3) The Union and South West have become an entity, that is one territory and one people."

The U.N.S.W.P. stated that its aim was to establish a European population united in its love for and loyalty to South West Africa . . . The basic principle of its non-European policy was "the indisputable leadership of the European population in a spirit of Christian Trusteeship with the absolute avoidance of racial intermixture." With regard to the status of South West Africa the Party stated: "It continues to be the policy of the U.N. South West Party to effect the abolition of the mandate by: (a) The development of South West Africa to economic and political independence; (b) Extending the powers of the Legislative Assembly, and to constitute the Executive Committee into a full-time body which can serve the interests of this Territory more effectively. (c) Deciding on the future of this Territory by way of a plebiscite, when economic and political independence is reached."

Among the election speeches made on behalf of the Nationalist Party was a statement by Dr. J. H. O. du Plessis, M.P. for Stellenbosch, who said that at the United Nations, the request had been made that the non-European of South West Africa should be given the vote, and be allowed to take his part in managing bodies. There was also the request that South West Africa should be given to the aborigine.

The Nationalist Party's view was that *apartheid* must be applied to South West Africa. This did not mean that the right of black states in Africa was denied, but there must not be partnership. The Nationalist Party stood unreservedly on political *apartheid* in which the White man must retain control in White areas. It was the Party's attitude that the future of South West was indivisibly bound to that of the Union and that this would be extended further until South West participated in republican freedom with the Union. He was not prepared to hand over South West Africa to servitude to the United Nations and capitulation to foreign powers. (*Pretoria News*, November 16, 1955.)

Mr. J. C. Strijdom, the Prime Minister of South Africa, appealed to the all-white electors of South West Africa to support the Nationalist Party, saying that they would have to decide whether to strengthen the Territory's association with the Union or isolate it and allow it to become "an easy prey for the United Nations" . . . The salvation of South Africa, he said, lay in unity of aim and unity of politics, "whether we

¹See DIGEST Vol. II, No. 7.

be Afrikaans-, German-, or English-speaking". The "severing of bonds that bind us together can only and will only result eventually in the death of South West Africa and in incalculable harm and the weakening of our community as a whole," he said.

London's *The Times* (November 12, 1955) commented: "Already the territory has been closely associated with the political system of the Union, and sends six members to the House of Assembly at Cape Town. In strict law it is obvious that, if the mandate has expired, as the Nationalists contend, so also has the right of South Africa to be in the territory at all. But the future of this small community of 250,000 black men and 40,000 white, inhabiting a vast expanse, cannot be left to juristic considerations alone. The Europeans, whether of German, Dutch, or English origin, are fairly certain to vote to join the Union: it was SMUTS's policy as well as the Nationalists'. Native opinion, except among one tribe, the Hereros, has generally seemed to concur—with full knowledge of what *apartheid* means. The 'anti-colonial' interest at Lake Success founds itself upon the need to protect the Native against the believers in that doctrine. The Union Government, on the other hand, declares with some reason that, notwithstanding its social theory, it has a constant care for the welfare and advancement of its Native subjects."

In a letter to *The Times* (November 18, 1955) Lord Hemingford, the Chairman of the Africa Bureau, commented: "Your statement that African opinion in South West Africa has generally seemed to concur that South West Africa should be joined to the Union is quite incorrect. There are two zones in South West Africa—the police zone and Ovamboland. In the police zone the Berg-Damara and Nama peoples joined with the Hereros in petitioning the United Nations against incorporation into South Africa. The Rev. Michael Scott is the accredited representative of all these three tribes. The only other tribe of any size is the Ovambo. In Ovamboland they have been allowed to develop more or less on their own and, unlike the tribes in the police zone, have had little experience of the discriminatory laws of the Union Government."

"When the League of Nations declared as the principle of the mandate system 'that the well-being and development' of 'peoples not yet able to stand by themselves' formed 'a sacred trust of civilization', they surely did not mean that that trust could be fulfilled by the Native policy of the Union of South Africa."

AMERICA & AFRICA

INSIDE AFRICA

THE famous author, Mr. John Gunther, has produced *Inside Africa*¹ a book of 900 pages which surveys forty-four countries between the Mediterranean and the Cape.

Referring to over-all trends and issues, in his conclusion, Mr. Gunther admits that it is risky to generalize, but writes: "Almost the whole of the African continent is . . . trembling and astir with acute nationalist uplift. If Africa has any single common denominator, it is the desire (latent or positive) of most Africans to get rid of colonial rule, or at least modify its oppressive terms . . ."

¹Hamish Hamilton, 30s.

"The two things Africa needs most are development and education . . . Race relations are at the bottom of most contemporary friction in Africa. What Africans hate and deplore even more than their submerged political status is colour bar. If whites and blacks can learn to live together, not necessarily melted down into a solidly grey continent, but peaceably side by side in communities gradually becoming harmonious (as in much of the United States), Africa is saved. If not, it may be lost—to chaos, to civil war, to feudalism, or the Communists.

"In addition, the white man, if he hopes to survive peaceably in Africa, must make large economic concessions . . ."

Mr. Gunther urges that the U.S.A. should "take a much bolder position, announce its unshakable faith in freedom for all peoples, and enormously multiply its assistance to Africa in fields of technical aid, education, and the like. That is the only effective way to beat Communism . . . Africa is part of the American frontier nowadays, whether we like it or not. The world is our frontier these days. Cold wars, even more than hot, are global. Nationalist Africa is not remotely strong enough to be able to get rid of Europe in the near future, but it can make Africa unpleasantly expensive and troublesome for Europeans. Europe is stuck, so to speak, with Africa, and Africa is stuck with Europe, and America is stuck with both. So at least we should give Africa our most seasoned, scrupulous, and long-minded attention. The challenge to American as well as European statesmanship is undeniable. Africa is awake, Africa is alert, it has seen the example of Asia, even if its circumstances are different from those of Asia, and for good or ill it is marching with the times."

CRITICISMS OF PARTNERSHIP IN CENTRAL AFRICA

Professor Thomas Franck who visited the Central African Federation and stayed several days in Lusaka, writing in the *Christian Science Monitor*, which is published in America and has a world-wide circulation, said that the first real application of partnership in a practical way has come not from the Government, but from the opposition, "from Dr. Alexander Scott, lawyer, doctor, newspaper publisher and uncompromisingly-principled Member for Lusaka, the capital of Northern Rhodesia."

Professor Franck was referring to the opposition expressed in protest meetings and letters to the press, in connection with the Lilanda Housing Scheme.¹ Professor Franck also described a visit to a fun fair in Lusaka: "Meanwhile white children attending a fun fair in Lusaka recently learned that Indian children, who—unlike Africans—were permitted to attend, could ride the assorted instruments of torture indigenous to amusement parks, only when there were enough of them to make up a special load. 'Partnership' did not stretch to whirl mobiles.

"The surprise this procedure may have evoked among the children could easily be dispelled by their elders who know that the Federation Government always makes up its railway coaches in just the same way.

"If there are not enough Indians or Blacks to fill one coach they have to wait until the next train or the one after that, even though the train they want may be empty." (*Central African Post*, October 26, 1955.)

In a letter to the *Rhodesia Herald* (October 18, 1955) "A Former American" compared progress in breaking down seg-

¹See page 13.

regation in America, with the position in Central Africa. He said: "Do not think from this that America is Utopia where there is no prejudice and discrimination, for there is much. There is still a long way to go before there is a fair deal for all, but it is on the way, just as it is all over the world, and we might as well adjust our thinking to accept it and help it as we cannot stop it coming.

"If we wish to have a voice in the future, now is the time to keep abreast of the fast-moving tide of humanity and lend it a helping hand, thus guiding it into paths of right and happiness for all concerned.

"Incidentally, I am genuinely puzzled how we expect any people to pick up and absorb our civilization, customs, ideals and way of life when they are not allowed more widespread association with us.

"My main point, however, is that it is quite baseless to cite these isolated instances of trouble in the Deep South as the general pattern of reaction and practice in America. America holds to the view that if you try to have first-class and second-class citizens you will end up with a second-class citizenry."

INDIA & AFRICA

WEST AFRICANS IN INDIA

THE Nigerian Minister for Industries, Mr. P. O. Ururka, has paid a short visit to India to study how far Nigeria could learn from India in the sphere of developing cottage industries.

Members of a Gold Coast Press delegation have also visited India.

The Nigerian Students' Union in India held an inaugural meeting at Nagpur in October. The principal aims of the Union are to bring Nigerian Students together, to inquire into their common problems, to foster a spirit of co-operation among themselves, and to find ways and means by which they could be of best service to Nigeria.

INDIAN VISITOR IN CENTRAL AFRICA

After a week in Salisbury, Mr. P. D. Saggi, general secretary of the All-India Convention of Race Relations, said: "I have been most agreeably surprised to discover that there is not nearly so much racial discrimination in the Federation as I had been led to believe. Had I not come here personally, I would have held a completely different opinion. In India I had been told that whatever happens in South Africa by legislation automatically happens in Rhodesia by convention. I now know that that is not entirely true . . ." He said the Asian population was not oppressed, and they put up with the social and educational disabilities which still existed because they all seemed to believe that the policy of racial partnership would be put into effect . . . (*Federation Newsletter*, November 18, 1955.)

AFRICAN STUDIES AT DELHI UNIVERSITY¹

The School of African Studies at Delhi University, under Mr. Peter Wright, has twenty students taking the Diploma Course in African Studies—nineteen from India and one from Kenya. Six scholarships are likely to be instituted. The course will have seven subjects (excluding an African language—Swahili or Hausa for Indian Students, and an Indian

¹See DIGEST Vol. III, No. 3.

language for African students)—systematic and regional geography of Africa; African cultural anthropology; African history with special reference to the development of colonial policies; governments and politics in Africa; economic development in Africa with special reference to the modern period; political and cultural history of India (with special reference to the development of the present constitution); and one of the following: geography and anthropology of an African region, U.N. and other international activities in Africa, economic and social development of India since 1857, African land system, ethnology of India, or geopolitics of Africa. (*Jana*, November, 1955.)

EUROPE & AFRICA

A SWEDISH VIEW OF SOUTH AFRICA

PROFESSOR H. TINGSTEN, the chief editor of the Swedish Liberal newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, and author of the book *The Problem of South Africa*,¹ addressed a meeting organized by the Manchester and District Council for African Affairs on some of his experiences in South Africa. Professor Tingsten said that it could be seen in Eastern Germany that a very small part of the population, with arms, could keep the majority subjected for a long time without difficulty. From a certain point of view, the difficulty in South Africa was that there was a degree of liberty. The press was on the whole free, and on many points criticized the Government. The subjected races had certain rights . . . He added that the British were in the best position to react "on some points at least" against the South African régime. By criticism, and if possible by stronger means, they should try to show this extraordinary Nationalist semi-dictatorship that at least the free world was critical of its behaviour.

The Rev. Michael Scott was elected president of the council. (*Manchester Guardian*, November 10, 1955.)

GERMAN PLAN FOR AFRICA

West Germany is launching a vast "four point" programme in Africa designed to put purchasing power into the pockets of the Natives so they can buy more German goods. Germany proposes to push model industrialization programmes throughout the continent.

In the process of helping to push Africa into the twentieth century, the Germans hope to form a durable economic partnership with the Africans which will give them a hold on the African market . . .

A pilot programme is well under way in Egypt, where the Germans are building dams, hydro-electric plants and steel mills. The Egyptian programme is now being offered as a model to other African lands. A German goodwill mission has just returned from the Federation, where the Germans advised on and offered help with a series of industrialization projects.

¹Gollancz, 12s. 6d.

The Germans are particularly interested in the Kariba Gorge hydro-electric project on the Zambesi, and West German firms are helping with a ten-year development plan for the Belgian Congo . . .

Thanks to their loss of pre-World War I colonies, the Germans are rid of the onus of being a colonial power which worked to the detriment of Britain and Belgium.

Because they are viewed as business men instead of colonizers, the Germans are welcome throughout Africa.

Since the war the Germans have studiously refrained from dabbling in politics in Africa. In Africa there are numerous Nazis who slid down the pole when the Reich collapsed.

They have made their peace with the Bonn Government and are helping to advance the commercial cause in the continent of the future. (*Rhodesia Herald*, September 19, 1955.)

COUNCIL OF EUROPE DEBATE ON AFRICA

When the Council of Europe debated African questions, Senator Roger Motz, the Belgian Liberal, moved a resolution that a committee should study how European investment could best be made in Africa, especially—which is where the Strasbourg Plan recurs—by third-party investment from countries not possessing African territories. (A meeting of international Liberals in Strasbourg over the week-end had, incidentally, endorsed this proposal.)

M. Motz was followed by M. Pierre Henri Teitgen, French Minister for Overseas Territories, who said he was speaking "in the name of his Government" and who said France would welcome a co-ordinated European policy for African development, and would, on certain conditions, gladly consider foreign investment in her African territories. A European approach to African development, he said, would increase European solidarity, raise African standards of living, benefit both sides economically, and combat the prejudice and ignorance surrounding the subject. (*Manchester Guardian*, October 18, 1955.)

PROPOSALS FOR AN AFRICAN ARMY

Proposals that the African army might be expanded, a British Foreign Legion set up, the proportion of fighting formations in the British Army increased, and strategic air transport developed, are contained in a report, *The Army in the Nuclear Age*, published by the Army League.

"There are at present no British forces available in south-east Asia or the Middle East for defence against external attack as distinct from local insurrection," says the report. It concludes that if Britain is to defend these areas strategic reserves, each at least two divisions strong, must be stationed there in peace-time.

Answering the question of where the manpower is to come from, the Army League suggests, first, that an expanded African army might in a small way fulfil the rôle previously performed by the Indian Army. (At present African forces under British command number about 26,000; during the last war they achieved a maximum strength of 274,000.) (*The Times*, November 12, 1955.)

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